

* Classical Evolutionary Theory

Basic Postulates of Classical Evolutionary Scheme

Although, classical evolutionists have been criticised by relativists, particularists, diffusionists and migrationists, who have discredited the fundamental postulates of evolutionists on the basis of empirical findings, but it is beyond doubt that they were first and foremost thinkers who opined that the concept of racial superiority is a psychological and myth. For them, the primitives or tribal societies of mankind were ancestors of modern civilized societies of the universe. The former represented the earlier stage of humanity through which the civilized mankind as a whole had evolved out. Their such thinking reflects clearly that they had critical mind and analytical brain to understand the cultural history of mankind in the dynamic dimensions of time. Although their evolutionary schemes were to a great extent de-educative and speculative but they were certainly aware of facts and explanation of processes of change. They seriously aimed at showing that mankind was a unity not diversity. The lower developmental stages of mankind were directly related to latter ones. In absence of written records, it was a difficult task for them to show the evolution of mankind. But their critical mind devised a method to fill in the gap by the concepts of survivals. Survivals were uncommon customs, which had lost their significance in present state, but had valuable meaning in past. Thus, survivals were indicators of conditions of culture of mankind in earlier periods.

They were of the opinion that historical explanations were sufficient to the understanding of cultural varieties. They did not confuse history with evolution, but they took help of historical explanations to show that human culture had undergone progressive and cumulative change in 19th century. Their this method of reconstruction was also known as historical method.

They compared the early stage of primitive people with civilized ones and assumed that formers were the reflection of early condition of the latters. They also compared survivals, both material and non-material, to establish sequence of development from simple to the complex, from homogeneity to heterogeneity and from uncertainty to certainty. This method of comparing cultures or cultural institutions of the world, be-

came known as comparative method of cultural evolutionists.

Evolutionists were very much puzzled, while dealing with the evolutionary schemes, on the question of similarities in culture traits, culture complex and culture patterns of the people of the world without known historical connection. Was it due to independent invention or because of diffusion? The theory of diffusion could not seem convincing to them and they postulated that similarities in traits, complex and patterns of cultures existing all over the world were not due to diffusion, but they revealed certainly that parallel inventions or discoveries were made in different parts of the world by human beings, who were genetically unrelated, yet passed through the same developmental sequences. Independent inventions or parallel discoveries of culture traits, culture complex and culture patterns are designated as cultural parallels. The ideologies of evolutionists related to the formation of cultural parallels are termed as cultural parallelism, which is synonymic to cultural similarism.

The evolutionists assumed that cultural parallels or cultural similarities came into existence due to Psychic unity of mankind. Psychic unity of mankind refers to similar mentality of human beings to react and think similarly with like environmental situation at a particular period of time. It was because of psychic unity of mankind that human beings residing at different places of the world passed through the similar stages of savagery, barbarism and civilization. The invention of agriculture took place simultaneous in South-east Asia, South-west Asia and America. The use of zero was invented at the same time in Hind, Babylonia and Maya cultures. The invention of paper and printing came in to being independently at the same time in East and West. Writing also came into being simultaneously in many countries of the world. Such examples of cultural similarities or cultural parallels bear testimony that human beings possess psychic unity. Differences in environments and situations create diversities in traits, complexes and patterns, which occupy secondary significance in evolution of culture.

Thus, classical evolutionists postulated that in the beginning all cultures possessed similar and simple culture traits, but they gradually developed into complex forms or patterns due to cultural developments.

Salient Features of Unilinear Evolutionism

1. Human culture as a whole or socio-cultural institutions, evolve in unilinear sequence, stage after stage.
2. The direction of cultural evolution is from simple to complex, from similarity to dissimilarity, and from indefinite to definite.
3. Different stages of evolution can be established by speculating

- historical explanations and using comparative method.
4. Similarities in culture traits, culture complex, culture patterns of the world are caused by psychic unity of mankind and parallel inventions.
 5. Cultural diversities do not occupy significant place in unilinear evolutionary scheme.
 6. In the higher stage of culture, some residues of primitive stages can be seen, which are termed as survivals, and which remind us about the earlier stages of the culture.

GENERAL CONTRIBUTION OF CLASSICAL EVOLUTIONISTS

Classical evolutionists used evolutionary schemes as a methodology or approach to reconstruct the developmental stages of culture of mankind as a whole as well as to establish developmental sequences of cultural institutions like marriage, family, kinship etc. In this approach they applied comparative method to reconstruct cultural history of mankind as a whole or cultural institutions.

Considering the primitive people as reflecting the early condition of men and comparing their early culture with developed ones, Tylor and Morgan postulated that man kind as a whole has passed through the stages of savagery, barbarism and civilization. Tylor did not place specific cultures into different stages of cultural development of human beings, but Morgan subdivided the stages of savagery and barbarism each in to three groups, namely lower, middle and upper. He was of opinion that lower savagery began with development of language and gathering of fruits and nuts as subsistence. This stage ended with development of fishing subsistence and use of fire. No living example can be cited to this stratum.

In middle status of savagery, fishing subsistence and use of fire continued, but ended with invention of bow and arrow. During this period, mankind expanded to cover the greater part of earth's surface. He placed Australians and Polynesians at the time of first contact with European.

In upper status of savagery, invention of bow and arrow continued, but ended with the invention of pottery. Examples of this stage are American Indians of the Western sub-arctic, Columbia River valley tribes and certain tribes of North and South America at the time of first contact with Europeans.

Lower status of barbarism witnessed continuation of pottery inventions, either by original or by adoption and ended with invention of animal domestication in eastern hemisphere, but invention of plant cul-

tivation by irrigation and use of adobe brick and stone in house construction. He cited examples of American Indian tribes east of Missouri river, and tribes of Europe and Asia, who had pottery, but no domesticated animals.

Middle status of barbarism witnessed animal domestication in old world and use of plant cultivation, adobe brick and stone in New world and invention of iron ore smelting in both worlds. Examples are pueblo Indians of America, village dwelling Indians of Mexico, Central America and Tribes in eastern hemisphere.

In upper status of barbarism, smelting of iron continued and ended with the invention of phonetic alphabet and use of written literature. Examples are Gracian tribes of Homeric age, Italian tribes before foundation of Rome and Germanic tribes of Julius Caesar's time.

✦ The stage of civilization began with phonetic alphabet and literary writing. Morgan's classification of stages of development of humankind in terms of ethnic period such as savagery, barbarism and civilization, are what anthropologists generally call hunting and food gathering societies, horticultural tribals, and pre or proto state societies.

Thus, Morgan compared the tools and levels of subsistence and attempted to trace development stages of mankind as a whole. Tylor and Morgan's offensive words like savagery and barbarism have been dropped by present day anthropologists, but all have accepted historical sequence from hunting and gathering to domestication of plants and animals and most single item, writing, as the beginning of civilization.

These evolutionists also tried to establish the historical sequence of marriage, family and kinship. According to Tylor, Morgan, McLennan, J.J. Bachofen and Adolf Bastian, Sexual promiscuity was the early stage of marriage in historical sequence, from which present day monogamy evolved out, through group marriage and polyandry.

They all have postulated that societies in early stage was matriarchal and residence was matrilineal from which patriarchal family and patrilineal residence evolved out in historical period. Thus, matrilineality preceded the patrilineality. In kinship organisation, descent was traced through female in early societies from which the present patrilineal descent developed in course of time.

✦ Morgan was of the opinion that family system has passed through fifteen successive stages of development, the early stage of family was consanguinal family and monogamous family was the developed stage. In kinship terminology, classificatory system was the early stage, which preceded the descriptive system.

Maine was exception, whose sequence of family organisation revealed that patriarchy was the early stage of family organisation which

proceeded matriarchy, which was not acceptable to other evolutionists.

But his historical sequences of kinship organisation to territorial organization, from status to contract, from civil law to criminal was accepted by all.

It was Tylor, who took enthusiastic interest in establishing historical sequences of religion. He was of opinion that animism, i.e., belief in soul, was the early stage of religion, from which present stage of monotheism has developed through polytheism.

Unilinear evolutionary approaches were applied to show the historical sequences of economic organisation, technology and art, etc. In the field of economic organisation developmental stages are: hunting and gathering, domestication of plant and animal, industrial labour, etc. In the field of technology, three stages of successive development are: stone age, bronze age, and iron age. A.C. Haddon, in his book *Development of Art*, has established three successive stages of development, which are realistic, symbolic and geometric. According to Frazer, society has passed through three successive stages of development, i.e. magic, religion, and science.

BRITISH EVOLUTIONARY SCHOOL

1 Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917)

E.B. Tylor was born at Camberwell, England, on 2nd October, 1832. He was the third son of parents Joseph Tylor and Harrite Skipper. His father ran a prosperous brass foundry, which belonged to the family. Both parents were Quakers and E.B. Tylor was to make to most of his inheritance of freedom from religious formality. This independence lost him a classical education, because he could not pass the tests of religious orthodoxy, which were then required for admission to the universities. Instead, he received a brief and formal education at a school maintained by the Society of Friends.

When he was sixteen years old, he entered the family business and worked there for seven years. In 1855, at the age of 23, his health showed signs of breaking down. He was advised by parents to quit work and indulge his health by leisurely travel. He spent a year travelling in United States, and in the spring of 1856, was in Cuba. Here, his Quaker affiliations provided the chance opportunity that so often gives direction to a man's life. While on a Havana bus, he heard a passenger using 'thou', which at that time identified the speaker as a Quaker. Tylor approached the stranger and introduced himself as a fellow Quaker. The Stranger Quaker was Henry Christy, a prosperous businessman, who had become

an archaeologist and ethnologist of considerable reputation. Henry Christy was one of the archaeologists, who later made the important confirmation of the validity of Boucher de Perthes' discoveries concerning the antiquity of man. Henry Christy and Tylor took an immediate linking to each other. Christy persuaded Tylor to accompany him on an archaeological expedition to Mexico. Under scholarly expertise and mature guidance of Christy, Tylor developed curiosity and insight for careful observation and balanced judgement, which helped him much in reconstructing the prehistory of Mexico. He was specially interested in the development of Mexico. He took in to consideration the material remains of culture discovered by the two travellers as well as antiquities of popular rites, custom, beliefs and legends which were to be observed among the contemporary people of Mexico. His observations revealed that many extant customs were similar to the customs of ancient people. He observed that the practice of Mexican penitents, scourging themselves at church under the fierce exhortations of moth, was reminded of the identical rite at the Egyptian festival of Isis. This observation played significant role in formulation of the theory of cultural survivals, which were regarded as the most important achievements in anthropology by Tylor.

Another problems that interested Tylor on Mexican expedition was that of independent origin or diffusion of cultural institution. This question was to become a crucial one in anthropology with important implications for social, political and religious thought. In order to solve this question, Tylor employed a caution which characterised much of his subsequent works: "Set the difficulties on one side of the question against those on the other, and they will nearly balance".

Though Tylor stayed at Mexico for six month only, but this shorter expedition shaped once and for all the course of his life's work. His stay at Mexico made him devoted to the founding of a science of culture. The theory of cultural evolution or cultural reconstruction, developed by him, attracted wider recognition among the leading anthropological evolutionists of 19th century. His achievement in the field of cultural evolution led the way to establish anthropology as an independent and scientific field of study in Europe. He championed anthropology so strongly that many of his contemporaries half jokingly referred to it as 'Mr. Tylor's Science'. His science, anthropology, did not remain without academic recognition. He occupied Britain's first recognised University post, as the keeper of the university museum of Oxford, and a year later, in 1884, as reader in anthropology in the same University.

Tylor was a commanding benevolent figure. He wall tall, well-built and extremely handsome. His simplicity, patience, and quiet humour

made him popular and organiser. His writings were always free from jargon or pretension of any kind, a sequence of the fact that he was taken from school at sixteen and never again became a student in academic science.

He was married to Anna in 1858. The relationship between Tylor and Anna was regarded as a model of marital life. They lived together quietly and happily for 59 years, until Tylor's death in 1917. It is said that Lady Tylor always encouraged and cooperated her husband in academic activities. She used to attend certain series of her husband's lectures. On one occasion, Tylor turned towards his wife after a lengthy exposition and said absent mindedly, "and so my dear Anna we observe.....".

Contributions of Tylor on Cultural Evolution

Tylor published his first book entitled, *Anahuac*; also known as *Mexico-Mexican, Ancient and Modern*, in 1861 from London. In his book, Tylor discusses the evolution or reconstruction of cultural history of Mexico. On the basis of observing and comparing the material remains of culture and antiquities of popular rites, customs, beliefs, myths, legends, folklore etc., he came to the conclusion that culture of Mexico-mexican has developed from primitive to civilized stage. He used a number of different techniques for such reconstructions. One of those was assignment of conditions opposite to present one to early stage of development, another was his concept of 'survivals', which he used in a manner similar to Maine and McLennan's concept of *Survivals*. According to him, survivals are processes, customs and opinions that persist by force of habit, even when they lose their utility. Thus, survivals remain proof of earlier condition. He found such survivals in both material and non-material aspects of culture. [He cited an examples of saying 'God bless you' to some one who sneezed. This custom was existing even in civilized society indicating an earlier belief that sneezing was an attempt of the soul to leave the body. This danger was encountered by saying, 'God bless you'. Such belief is also existing among Indians, because sneezing is regarded as a bad omen. When anyone sneezes, it is a custom to say that May God grant a long life.

Tylor's second book entitled *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and Development of Civilization*, was published in 1865. This book deals with progressive theory of cultural development on the basis of similarity of human mind. When he thought about development of civilization, the basic question which perplexed him was whether the differences between civilized and savage life was to be explained by the progress of the former, or the degeneration of the latter. Following the

same approach of collecting material and non-material aspects of cultural survivals and comparing them in time sequence, the conclusion of the book revealed that differences in primitive and civilized people were due to progress which took place in culture as a whole. He was of opinion that culture as a whole had progressed rather than degenerated, and in the reconstruction of cultural history of civilization, the progress of culture must be taken into consideration. On the basis of evaluating the progress of culture, his researches into early history of mankind and development indicated that the present civilization has evolved from savagery (early stage of human kind) through barbarism. Thus, there were three successive stages of cultural development through which the present form of civilization has emerged.

Another question, which puzzled Tylor in reconstructing the history of mankind and development of civilization, was similarity in cultural traits and cultural complexes in existing cultures of the world. Why all cultures have language, religion, family, marriage, arts, crafts, etc. without any known contact in past? It was due to independent development or diffusion of cultural institutions? He solved this question on the basis of *Psychic Unity of Mankind* and rejected the idea of diffusion. Psychic unity of mankind reveals that under similar environmental condition mankind of the world progress in similar way. It means that mankind were equally capable of progress. The differences between cultures were "those of development rather than of origin, rather of degree than of kind" (Tylor, 1865 : 232). Tylor believed in independence inventions or discoveries of cultural institutions in similar unilinear sequence, i.e., from simple form to complex form. He gave examples of similar culture traits between people without known historical connections. For instance, he observed Australian aborigines raising scars on their bodies like African tribes, circumcising like Jews and Arabs, baring marriage in female line like the Iroquois, dropping out language, names of plants and animals, which were used as personal names of dead men, and making new words to serve instead, like the Abipones of South America.

Such observations made by him helped him much in reconstructing the history of mankind and developmental processes of civilizations. He was of opinion that history of culture and civilization was a witness of parallel or independent evolution of cultural institutions. Like environmental condition compelled prehistoric men of the universe to develop stone tools, invent potteries, domesticate animals, and to do agriculture. Such inventions of prehistoric men did not originate at a particular place from where they diffused in other cultural setting, but parallel or independent or free inventions took place at several places at the same time. Above explanation clearly revealed that prehistoric culture and civ-

ilization of men has passed through three successive developmental stages, viz. stone age, bronze age and iron age.

Tylor's most recognised book, *Primitive Culture* was published in 1871. This book was regarded as anthropological classic which marks the beginning of the scientific study of culture. Two major contributions to cultural anthropology emerged from this book. The 'doctrine of survivals' and 'theory of animism'.

In this book, it was Tylor, who gave a scientific definition of culture. According to him, "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habit acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871:1).

In this definition of culture, the term 'Acquired' is the key word, because it meant that culture was the product of social learning, rather than of biological heredity, and that the differences in cultural development were not the result of degeneration, but of progress in cultural knowledge. Tylor's insistence that culture was a 'complex whole' implied that it included all socially learned behaviour, no matter if it seemed trivial or not. Thus, every facet of social life was worthy of study, because it contributed to the understanding of mankind.

In his book, *Primitive Culture*, Tylor has discussed the origin of culture and religion in primitive culture. Tylor considered two methods of revolutionary reconstruction, which also suggested the method of survivals to him. One was reconstruction of material culture by the archaeologists and geologists on the basis of the discoveries of material relics (artifacts) in geological strata. The archaeologist working with geologists could establish from a few surviving artifacts such a fragments of weapons, implements, pottery, etc. a general picture of material culture of an ancient society and its approximate place in chronological series. On the basis of surviving material relics and correlating them with chronological sequence, Tylor observed that the evolution of material culture has passed through three successive stages of development, viz. stone, bronze and iron.

The doctrine of survivals added utility and prestige to the comparative method as the key to ethnological study. It is because of this fact that Tylor is often referred to as the founder of comparative ethnology. On the basis of comparing the survivals (material and non-material) in his study, Tylor was able to conclude that contemporary savage people represented the earlier stages of cultural development, which had been traversed by civilized people. Thus, the three successive developments of societies were — savagery, barbarism and civilization. However, Tylor did not attempt to force specific cultures into savagery or barbarism, as done by L.H. Morgan, a contemporary American evolutionist.

Although Tylor reconstructed possible sequence of many cultural institutions, but his most comprehensive treatment was in the field of primitive religion. In his book Primitive Culture, Tylor defined religion as belief in spiritual beings. He stated that religion was a cultural universal, because no known cultures were without such beliefs. According to him, religion originated as belief in soul, which is also designated by the term 'animism' (*anima* means soul). Therefore, animism was the ancient form of religion. As souls were numerous, who were worshipped on different occasions in the form of ancestral worship, this created belief in polytheism, which following the processes of cultural evolution, reached at a stage of monotheism, the great belief of civilized people. Thus, the evolution of religion has passed through the development processes of animism, polytheism and monotheism.

In order to trace the origin and development of primitive religion, Tylor studied the myths and legends associated with the origin of religion. Analysing different myths and legends, he came to the conclusion that primitive religion came into existence as belief in spirits or soul (animism). Primitive man observed soul as making a man alive or dead. They viewed that there was some unseen spirit in man, which made him to speak, walk, breath, eat, etc. But as soon as the unseen spirit, left the body, a man was declared as dead. Man would have met such experience as a result of which, a belief in soul came into existence, though he did not possess necessary knowledge to reason scientifically. On this rationale, Tylor called primitive men as 'Savage philosopher'.

Primitive men gradually developed a belief that every man possessed not only a material body but also a life and a phantomic (evil spirit). Life enabled the body to think and perform acts, but the phantom was its image or second self. Both were inseparable from the body. Life went permanently after death from the body, but phantom could appear to people at a distance as in dream. In this way, savages began to consider two identical idea of soul — (i) Body Soul and (ii) Ghost Soul. Body-soul left the body permanently but Ghost soul appeared before them on many occasions. This belief grew up that souls continued even after death. In another stage of development, this belief was extended to include all other living and non-living objects, because animals, plants, weapons, boats, mountain, rivers, seas, wells, etc., all used to appear in dream as spirits. In this way, savages began to realise that every thing possessed life and soul or spirit, and this early stage of religion was called as animism by the great evolutionist E.B. Tylor.

Three general beliefs concerning the existence of ghost-souls after death are derived from these early stages of animism: (i) the conviction that ghost-souls hover round the earth and take an interest in living,

sometimes visit their former homes as well, (2) the belief in metempsychosis-the transmigration of souls in to other human beings or animals, plants and things, and (3) the idea of special residence in another world, such as western Islands, the under world, the mountains, heavens etc. The last kind of belief falls in to one of two categories, which Tylor calls as 'continuance theory' and 'retribution' theory. In case of former, a life similar to earthly life is carried out, but in latter, the Ghost-souls are rewarded or punished according to the deeds of earthly life. The second theory commanded a special effect on the social behaviour of the people who adopted the belief.

The general idea of primitive Ghost-soul animating men, animals, plants, and things naturally leads to belief in another order of spiritual beings which are on a higher level. They are called '*Manes*', which are souls in origin but which acquire a special quality raising them to the level of demons or deities. They might be a parent, hence ancestor worship came into existence. They might also be the soul or spirit of a tribal chief, a tribal hero, or any other powerful person. They might be a power for good or evil. Thus, the concept of *benevolent* and *malevolent* spirit came into existence and an active practice of offering worship was witnessed.

Another feature in the development of primitive religion was the general idea of embodiment or incarnation of spirits. As a result of this, the concept of spirit possession developed in primitive mind. This also led to the development of the practice of exorcism as the therapeutic device for dealing with invading demon spirits. The exorcists remove the spirits by cajolery, bribes, threats, persuading or driving it to another abode.

Related to the theory of 'spirit possession', is the next important application of incarnation or embodiment idea, known as fetishism. Though the term fetishism was used by August Comte, but Tylor used this term to indicate a subordinate department of animism. He restricted its use only to spirits embodied in or related to material objects, living or non-living. Fetishism merges in to idolatory, when a fetish object is altered in some material way by worshipper so as to indicate its special function as the abode for a spirit. According to Tylor, idolatory embodied soul and spirit in idol, in the same way as they were embodied in human body.

The next stage in development of animism took place, when primitive mind drew analogy between human behaviour and the behaviour of nature at large. As the human body functions by virtue of its inhabiting-Ghost-soul, so does nature appear in general to be animated by analogous agents. Thus, animism, beginning as a philosophy of human

life, became a comprehensive philosophy of all nature. The causes of all natural phenomena were regarded as natural spirits. They caused the wind to blow, the sky to rain, rivers to move, volcanoes to erupt.

Beginning, most likely, from very particular spirits for particular events, the idea of nature spirits became generalised and, there arose specific deities, Gods of heaven, earth, sky, water, river, forest, sea, diseases, agriculture, war, peace etc. This is the great stage of polytheism.

Finally the concept of one supreme deity came into existence. In Hindu society, *Pram Brahma Parmeshwar*, is regarded as the Supreme Being, Who commands nature, man and Gods. Thus, monotheism, the great belief of civilized people has evolved from the primitive past belief, i.e., animism.

Tylor's analysis of primitive religion has been appreciated as well as criticised both. He has been appreciated for collecting abundant ethnographic materials and illustrating each point with suitable examples. His definition of religion and views on religion as cultural universal was accepted by all. He was criticised for using meaningless ethnographic data. The critiques alleged that Tylor did not take into consideration the religious system as a whole, rather tried to reconstruct the origin and development of belief in supernatural powers, souls, offering, sacrifice, and various other selected aspects. To him, religion was mainly an attempt to understand the events of human experience and the primitive logician, rationally analysing the world in same matter as western scientists. In this rational exercise, Tylor sought the difference between earlier and later forms of religion in content and degree of knowledge, but social character of religion remained untreated and unexplained.

Calden His fourth book entitled, *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization* was published in 1881. In this book, Tylor dealt with the continuity of phenomena of cultural history. Taking into consideration, the survivals and correlating them with historical development, he was able to reconstruct the history of mankind and civilization. In his study, on the basis of comparative methods, he has convinced that the mankind as a whole has reached up to the stage of civilization from earlier stages of savagery and barbarism. While discussing the three stages of development of mankind, Tylor did not consider them as law governing the cultural historical processes, but he emphasised upon empirical generalizations, which enabled ethnographer to comprehend the continuity of culture. In fact, he was concerned with the study of human thought and action in wider historical perspective. He was of opinion that culture is a historical process subject to the development in time perspective.

In this book, the holistic four-field approach, which is particularly

strong in America, was also present. This book included chapters on antiquity of man, his relationship to other animals, races of mankind and on language. He also referred to archaeology. His examination of communication among deaf-mutes provides a model for the study of exotic system of communication. His insights into the nature of symbolization and its importance to human life are crucial for an understanding of the nature of culture and of man.

In 1889, Tylor wrote an essay, on *A Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions: Applied to the Laws of Marriage and Descent*, which was published in *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. In order to trace the development of marriage as an institution, he used statistics. He prepared a questionnaire and took data from 282 societies from savage hordes to cultural nations. He correlated post-marital residence pattern with the custom of in-law avoidance and came to the conclusion that matrilineality and matrilocality had proceeded patrilineality and patrilocality. His observation on custom of *couvade* pointed out in this direction revealed that matrilineal societies did not practise it at all because women's position was dominant. Most societies in intermediate patri-matrilineality stage adopted this custom, because men needed to establish their authority over women, thus limited their habit. Going into child bed like women, they symbolically started their paternity. In pure patrilineal society, some still practised *couvade* as survival, other had already dropped the customs because it had lost its function. Thus, matrilineality have been the earlier form of the society.

On the whole, Tylor's evolutionary reconstructions were more closely related to Lamarckian transformationism than to Darwinian natural selection. In the preface of the book *Primitive Culture*, Tylor acknowledged the importance of Darwin and Spencer, but added that his work was arranged on its own lines and not directly influenced by their writings. In fact, Tylor rarely recognised any of his predecessors, although many 19th century trends converge in his theories. His treatment of anthropology as history, his interest in exotic phenomena, his belief in progress, development stages, concept of survival, emphasis on empirical data and on the scientific nature of anthropology, all are adumbrated. But the synthesis of all these trends in to one coherent whole was Tylor's great achievement. He established anthropology as an independent and scientific field of study in Europe.

Tylor sent his students in different places to collect ethnographic materials. Since then, data collecting became the hall mark of anthropology. He is often called as an arm-chair anthropologist, one who relies upon the data from secondary sources and does not visit field. His

criticism as arm-chair anthropologist comes into existence because he was not basically a field worker, though he had spent a year in United States, six months in Mexico and a shorter period in Cuba. Therefore, he relied upon the materials collected by travellers, missionaries etc. for his own reconstructions of cultural history and civilization. But he was not uncritical of these data and attempted to test their accuracy by comparative method. It was he who recognised the need for scientifically-oriented fieldwork and he was instrumental in founding the organisations fostering the practice of fieldwork.

Tylor breathed his last in the year 1917, but his contributions in the field of anthropology in general and cultural anthropology in particular, are the witness that he is immortal. Such titles, used for him by us as 'father of anthropology, founder of cultural anthropology or culture, founder of comparative ethnology, and founder of modern anthropology', reveal clearly statuses, which he enjoyed during his life time on account of contributions in the field of discipline of anthropology. So long as the discipline of anthropology exists over world, he will be remembered for his great contributions.

R.R. Marett (1866-1943)

R.R. Marett was born at London in 1866. He was a student of E.B. Tylor. In 1936, he published Tylor's bibliography in which he presented Tylor's major contributions in the field of anthropology in general and cultural anthropology in particular. He reviewed Tylor's theoretical contributions such as concept of survivals, animism, inclusive definitions of culture and religion, his use of comparative method, attempts at statistical reconstructions and so forth. Perhaps none of these was entirely original, but he attempted to bring them in a coherent whole. In his hands, anthropology became 'the science of culture'.

Influenced by the ideas and concept of primitive religion under the inspiring guidance of a teacher like E.B. Tylor, he was also interested in the study of primitive religion. He wrote a book entitled, *The Threshold of Religion*, which was published from London in 1909. In this book, he transformed the Tylor's concept of animism, i.e., belief in soul. He critically concluded that the primitive mankind's destiny was guided and controlled by the natural phenomenon. Therefore, primitive religion could be understood in terms of *animatism*, i.e., belief in some impersonal power behind every material objects besides living beings.

Henry James Summer Maine (1822-1888)

Sir Henry Maine was born in 1822 in Scotland. By training and educa-

tion, he belonged to law discipline. He was founder of Comparative Jurisprudence in England. For some time, he was also Professor of Jurisprudence in Cambridge and Oxford. He came to India in connection with the study of primitive law in Primitive Societies. In 1869, he became the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University.

Henry Maine published a number of books on *Ancient Laws and Customs*, which are as follows:

1. *Ancient Law*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1861.
2. *Early Law and Custom*, London, 1883.
3. *Village Communities in East and West*, London, 1871.
4. *Lectures on Early History of Institutions*, New York, 1875.
5. *Popular Government*, London, 1890.

Maine's Contribution in Evolutionary Theory

The major contribution of Maine in the field of cultural evolutionary theory is the development of family system. He was of opinion that the family, in original form, was Patrilineal and Patriarchal. This idea of Maine was unlike those of Bachofen, Morgan, McLennan and Tylor, whose observations and conclusions revealed that family system in early stage of development was matrilineal and matriarchal. The present form of patriarchal and patrilineal family evolved from matrilineal and matriarchal family.

Maine declared in the preface of his book *Ancient Law* that he wanted to examine some of the earliest ideas of mankind as they are reflected in ancient law and to point out the relationship of those ideas to modern thought. It meant, Maine was interested in the evolution of law in western world. But the difficulty involved was that nothing much could be known about the laws of people before the invention of writing. Main attempted to solve this question by devising a method of reconstruction. Being specialist in Roman Law, he observed that changes in law were not made manifest in condition. Older form continued to exist as "legal fictions" and these, thus, were survivals to earlier times, when they were real functioning laws. In this way, he chose legal fiction as survivals to serve the purpose of reconstruction.

By this method, Maine found a number of sequences of development particularly from kinship organisation to territorial organisation, status to contract, civil law to criminal law, and decree to case law to true legislation. Of those, the first, i.e., the evolution of kinship organisation to territorial organisation is often discussed by the anthropologists, because it deals with the early forms of family organisation.

In the support of his hypothesis that family in earlier stage was patriarchal and patrilineal, Maine cited an example which is as follows:

In Roman Law, the legal fiction prevailed that a father was a *Patria Potestas*, which meant that father had absolute power over wife, children, servant and even life and death. In the period for which documentation existed, fathers did not possess such powers, but this legal fiction must have existed at earlier times. Thus, patriarchal was the earliest form of family organisation. As true government and legislation were absent in those days, it must have been the early forms of early political organisations as well in early societies. In course of time, when group began to unite around common land-holdings, the territorial notions developed by the necessity of time. But patrilineal kinship reckoning remained kinship based until the time nations developed, which were determined by territoriality exclusively.

Maine's most important contribution lies in his suggestion that the kinship had provided the basic principle of organisation of primitive societies. The primeval groups are families in which a despotic father exercises absolute power over his wives and children. These families aggregated through legal fictions to form larger groups without surrendering their autonomy. Hence, the unit of ancient society was a family and of modern society an individual. Therefore, movement of progressive societies has been uniform with respect to gradual dissolution of family dependency and growth of individual obligation in its place. This movement is examined by Maine with respect to a number of related transitions expressed in terms of useful dichotomies. Family organised society is fixed status society, individual society is free contract society. The movement is from status to contract. Family organised societies own property in common, individual organised societies embody the growth of private ownership. In the most primitive stage of law, all injuries may be compensated by agreement of families involved, thus civil and criminal law are confounded. Later on, certain injuries involve only individuals, while others are crime against the whole society.

Weakness of Maine's Scheme

Evolutionary theory of Maine has been criticised by contemporary anthropologists. Critiques levelled charges that he had no knowledge of ethnography, though he published books on ancient law. In absence of deep knowledge of races of mankind, his scheme of evolution cannot be

treated as universally valid scheme. He had gone through books and reports in Europe and India, but made it sound as if he were referring to all human kind. McLennan (1865:115) attacked on Maine as one "who has been unable to convince how human beings could be grouped on any principle more primitive than that of patriarchal system".

John Fergusan McLennan (1827-1881)

McLennan, like Maine, was also born in Scotland in the year 1827. Like Maine, he was also a lawyer by profession. Being a lawyer, he became interested in the evolution of the institution of marriage and his contribution in the field of evolution of marriage is still regarded as unparalleled.

He published two important books which are as follows:

- (i) *Primitive Marriage: An Enquiry into the Origin of form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies*, Adam and Charles Black, Edinburg, 1865.
- (ii) *Studies in Ancient History*, Macmillan, 1876.

His first book is regarded as the most famous book so far as the theory of cultural evolution is concerned. For him, it is often said that no one before him had attempted to reconstruct the social conditions of primitive people. He was much better acquainted with ethnographic literature than Maine and was convinced that the survival of 'rude' contemporary people were good example of early socio-cultural conditions.

His major item of reconstruction was bride capture, which was still carried out in mock battle in some contemporary societies. He observed that among Kalmuks, there was a custom to pay bride price and to carry away the girl on a horse amidst the struggling scenes or mock resistance. His another observation revealed that among the Welsh, the grooms and his friends, were engaged in a mock battle with friends of bride, until the latter inevitably lost. Postulating that these customs were survivals of former actual situations of bride price, McLennan set out to explain why women should have been taken in this manner. He arrived at logical conclusion that there must have been a stage of shortage of bride. This was so because primitive people practice female infanticide, neglecting or sometimes outright killing their new born daughters. McLennan called this practice of female infanticide not mere cruelty, but rather a functional necessity. The primal human population lived under harsh conditions. The groups were small and subjected to intense struggle for existence both within and between groups. Immature women were burden upon the meager subsistence economy. The foremost effect of this struggle for food and security was an alleged prevalence of female infan-

Female infanticide necessarily resulted in an unfavourable male-female ratio, as a result of which capture became the common rule. The shortage of women led to *polyandry*, in which a number of men took women as their common wife.

However, this was not the earliest stage of the society. In the beginning, marriage and kinship did not exist at all and mating was fairly random. Such sexual promiscuity made it impossible to recognise paternity. Thus, kinship was reckoned through female only. It means that in reckoning descent, matrilineality was a stage of development in rude promiscuity. The next stage of development was of a more regulated and less promiscuity, namely *polyandry*, where several men had a common wife. Polyandry were of two types: (i) Tibetan or fraternal polyandry and (ii) Nair polyandry or non-fraternal polyandry. In case of former, husbands were brothers but in case of latter, husbands were unrelated. In case of polyandry, women had to live in the camp of brothers, as a result of which patrilineal descent came into existence in place of matrilineal descent. Fraternal polyandry was no longer actually practised, but its former existence was attested by the occurrence of the institution of *levirate*, a custom that a younger brother is obliged to marry the wife or wives of his deceased older brother.

In latter version, McLennan (1876: 57) shifted his ground and postulated that female descent or matrilineal descent originated before wife capture. When kinship through females became strengthened, captured wives or women were recognised as full member of the group into which they had married. McLennan used the terms *endogamy* and *exogamy* to indicate the rules of marriage with women from inside the group or outside the group. But his arguments about the evolution of these institutions were not clear. Marriage by capture, of course, indicated exogamy, but when captured women or foreign women became recognised as member of the group, their offsprings or descendants were considered as marriage partners and exogamy was thus practised under the guise of endogamy.

Eventually, kinship became reckoned through males. For instance, in Tibetan polyandry, this development was most clear. The oldest brother assumed responsibility for all children, and thus became the legal father. Children inherited from him rather than from mother.

When agriculture came to replace hunting and gathering, subsistence became less precarious and female infanticide could be abandoned, so that sex ratio evened out. At that time, property became more important and inheritance was, thus, a focus of concern. The best solution was monogamy, because it clearly solved the relationship of children to their parents. Thus, according to McLennan, the present form of

monogamous marriage has evolved from sexual promiscuity or from the state of sexual communism through the stages of polyandry and polygyny. The early form of family was matriarchal, in which descent was traced through mother and inheritance of property was from mother to daughter. Patriarchal family has evolved out of matriarchal family stage after stage in course of time.

Like Maine and Morgan, the evolutionary scheme of McLennan also briefly discussed the origin of state. Like Maine and Morgan, he held that the continued growth of importance of private property brought about a reduction of kinship relations outside of nuclear family. Hence, the rise of state was accompanied by the decay of tribe and other kinship grouping.

McLennan-Morgan as Critique of Each Other

In spite of their agreement reached independently on the stage of promiscuity and priority of matrilineal over patrilineal descent. McLennan and Morgan were bitter critiques of each other. McLennan tried to destroy Morgan's theory of kinship terminology. He denied the significance of classificatory and descriptive terminologies in societies. He asserted that they had no bearing on family and descent but were mere modes of addressing persons. McLennan displayed remarkable "code for a man like Morgan, who had never seen an Indian".

Morgan, on the other hand, successfully exposed McLennan confusion concerning the nature of the exogamous groupings, which were supposed to have taken wives from each other. Morgan pointed out that exogamy and endogamy were very well existing side by side. The *clan* was exogamous, but tribe as a whole was endogamous.

One of the most interesting points made by Morgan was that McLennan had erroneously constructed matrilineal descent, a mode of reckoning clan affiliation, as the entire realm of kinship. Morgan correctly insisted that his system of consanguinity and affinity, proved the existence of *bilateral* reckoning of kinship regardless of the nature of descent rule employed.

Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941)

Frazer was born on January 1, 1854 at Glasgow, Scotland. He was one of four children born to Daniel Frazer and the former Katherine Brown. The father was the leading partner of a prosperous drug and chemical firm in Glasgow and the mother was the daughter of a prosperous merchant.

He began his schooling with a red-faced domini of the old school and recollected nothing of the experience. He attended Springfield Academy, where he spent his happiest school days and received the foundation and inspiration for much of his later work. It was here that he learned the rudiments of Latin and Greek, which were to play such a large part in his later studies. In 1869, at the age of fifteen, he matriculated at Glasgow University, where the foundation for subsequent career was firmly laid.

While at Glasgow, Frazer thought of competing for a scholarship at Oxford, but his father, mistrusting the High Church tendencies of Oxford, decided that Frazer should go to Cambridge instead. Thus, Frazer entered Trinity College at Cambridge on a scholarship in 1873. There he remained the rest of his life, his fellowship being renewed three times and finally for the whole life.

At Cambridge, Frazer continued his work in classical literature and philosophy and also studied law. The philosopher James Ward soon directed Frazer's attention towards Tylor's *Primitive Culture*. This book of Tylor stimulated Frazer's interest in anthropology. It was William Robertson Smith, however, who fired Frazer with a lasting enthusiasm for anthropology. Smith was a minister, who had been expelled from his teaching position at Free Church College, on the ground of heresy connected with his work in comparative religion. He was welcomed at Cambridge, where he favoured Frazer with his interest and friendship. Smith being engaged as editor of the ninth edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and knowing Frazer's interest in anthropology, assigned to Frazer the writing of the article on 'Taboo and Totemism', which appeared in 1888. In 1883, Frazer read one of his anthropological papers on 'Certain Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of Soul'.

The first edition of *The Golden Bough* was published in two volumes in 1890, the second edition of *Golden Bough* was published in three volumes in 1900, and the third edition of *Golden Bough* in twelve volumes appeared in between 1911 and 1915.

Frazer's most important classical study came out in 1898, after nine years of study. It was a translation of and commentary on 'Pausanias' Description of Greece and its six volumes constituted a great summary of the knowledge of classical Greece.

His *Psyche's Task* was published in 1909 and again in 1928 with the addition of one more paper as 'The Devil's Advocate'. Here Frazer argued that although superstitions has often been an evil, it has also had a positive value for mankind in promoting respect for authority and abstention from many forms of violence. It is *Psyche's Task* to separate the true from the false, but this may not always be a gain from the point

of view of accepted ethical standards and social behaviour.

His four volumes of *Totemism and Exogamy* was published in 1910. Here the idea was advanced that after totem had become hereditary, exogamy developed as a means for preventing inbreeding.

His book, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* was published in three volumes between 1913 and 1924. This work employed Tylor's idea of polytheism as originating in personified causes or nature spirits. According to Frazer, scientific theories eventually replace nature spirits as explanations for a given class of events, but the idea of deity is retained as the one great cause.

His book, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, was published in three volumes in 1918. In this work, Frazer treated the old testament as a body of folklore, which he defined as 'the whole body of people's traditional beliefs and customs, so far as thing appears to be due to collective action of the multitude and cannot be traced to the individual influence of greatmen'.

His book entitled, *The Worship of Nature* was published in 1926 and presented the now familiar thesis that religion is based on the human personification of nature.

Frazer's remaining works included the *Gorgon's Head* (1927), containing literary essays, articles, and translations, in prose and verse, *The Fasti of Ovid* (1929), which started out to be a translation, but developed characteristically into a five-volume treatise on roman history and *Mythology and Aftermath* (1937), a supplement to *Golden Bough*.

Frazer's one venture outside the libraries was in a teaching position at Liver Pool University, where he was appointed as the Professor of Social Anthropology. He resigned after one year, convinced that he should never have left the library. Unwelcome respite from his work occurred on those occasions, when he journeyed to accept the many academic honours and awards that were bestowed upon him. He was an original fellow of British Academy, was knighted in 1914, elected a member of order of Merit (1924), elected to the Royal Society (1920), and received high recognition from France, being made an associate member of the Institute de France and a Commander of the Legion of Honour. In 1921, the Frazer lectureship in social anthropology was founded in his honour at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow and Liverpool.

Frazer was an arm-chair anthropologist. He never conducted field studies. In other words, he was a man of monumental learning, but had no first hand acquaintance with the life of primitive people about whom he wrote. He hoped to discover the fundamental truth about the nature of human psychology by comparing the details of human culture on a world-wide scale, on the basis of secondary sources.

Frazer's Approaches

Frazer is the representative of an epoch in anthropology, which ends with his death. He was the last survivor of British classical anthropology. He represented better than any of our contemporaries that trend in humanism which sought inspiration from the comparative study of man for the understanding of the Greek, Latin and Oriental cultures of antiquity. In all his directly theoretical contributions, he is an evolutionist interested in primitive, whether he refers to mankind at large, or to specific beliefs, customs and practices of contemporary savages. He worked by the comparative method, collecting and examined evidence from all parts of the world, at all levels of development and in all cultures. The comparative method, combined with evolutionary, implies certain general assumptions. Men are substantially similar. They develop gradually from a primitive level and pass through various stages of evolution. The common measure in their actions and thoughts can be discovered by induction based on a vast survey of collected data. In this the concept of survival is essential to the evolutionist. It serves as the key for the understanding of continuity within transformation and as a link between the various stages. What was a strong and flourishing belief at one level, becomes a superstition in next higher one. Forms of marriage and kinship may become ossified into terminologies and survive as linguistic usage, long after the practices of group marriage or promiscuity have ceased. As we move down the various levels of development, we find the most primitive stage accessible, i.e., the origin of human institutions, customs and ideas.

Frazer never developed any full theoretical statement of evolutionary principles. We can not find in his work any precise definition of such concepts as origin, stage, survival, nor yet any scheme of explanation, which would allow us to assess how he imagined that evolution had proceeded, or what were the driving forces of progress. But he worked with all these concepts and constantly utilised the evolutionary as well as comparative scheme of explanation.

✱ Frazer was essentially addicted to psychological interpretations of human belief and practice. His theory of magic, as the result of association of ideas, his three consecutive hypothesis about the origin of totemism in terms of belief in external soul, magical inducement of fertility, and in animal incarnation, are essentially conceived in terms of individual psychology. His treatment of taboos, or various aspects of totemism, of development of magic, religion and science, clearly reveal that he in his explicit theories is little aware of the problem of social psychology. He is fundamentally hostile to psychoanalysis, while be-

haviourism never enters his universe of discourse.

Frazer's Evolutionary Principle

As referred to earlier, Frazer's convenient pegs were evolution, the principle of psychic unity of mankind, but he never clearly defined these ideas, nor did he develop full theoretical statements about them. His evolution was primarily one of the mental progresses of mankind. He described the meaning of *Golden Bough* as follows:

The cycle of the *Golden Bough* depicts, in its sinuous outline, in its play of alternative light and shadow, the long evolution by which the thoughts and efforts of man have passed through the successive stages of Magic, Religion and Science. It is in some measure, an epic of humanity, which starting from magic, attains to science in its ripe age.....

Thus, according to Frazer, the society or culture of mankind has passed through three successive development stages, namely, religion, and science.

Frazer's Views on Totem and Taboo

As referred to earlier, Frazer wrote articles on totem and taboo, for *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the 9th edition, which appeared in 1888. For Frazer, these articles were the beginning of a systematic application to anthropology and especially to a study of backward races of men, whom we call savages and barbarians. Frazer gave his reason for concentrating on savagery than on civilization as follows:

Civilization is extremely complex, savagery is comparatively simple. Savagery is undoubtedly the source from which all civilization has been ultimately derived by a slow process of evolution. It seemed to me, therefore, that if we are to understand the complex product, we must begin by studying the simple elements out of which it has been gradually compounded. In other words, we must try to understand savagery before we can hopefully to comprehend civilization.

In his article on totemism and taboo, Frazer has given a general idea about social origins, which became the guiding principle for much of his work, namely that from irrational beginning, system of great adaptative value for society are evolved. In taboo, Frazer remarks, we shall scarcely

err in believing that even in advanced society the moral sentiments, in so far as they are merely sentiments are not based on an induction from experience, desire much of their force from an original system of taboo.

Thus, on the taboo were grafted the golden fruits of law and morality.

* According to Frazer, a totem is a class of material objects, which a savage regards with respect believing that there exists between him and every member of clan an intimate all together a special relation.

* In his four volumes book entitled, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), Frazer gave a theory of soul for the origin of totem. He opined that totem originated as belief in soul. Savages believed that souls of human beings, after death, resided in plant, tree, animals, birds etc. The plant, tree, animal or bird, which was possessed by the soul of dead persons, the savages began to pay respect towards them. Eating and killing of those objects were strictly tabooed. In this way totemism came in to being. He cited example from Arunta tribe of Australia, in whose belief system, totems were regarded as responsible for causing pregnancy among women. Thus, totemism came into being from female side rather than male side. When in course of time, totems had become hereditary, exogamy developed as a means for preventing inbreeding.

Frazer's views on Magic, Religion and Science

In his book, *Golden Bough*, Frazer explained that early man knew nothing of science. In this way, they possessed completely wrong idea of natural causes. He lived primarily by two erroneous principles on which all his magic was based. These two erroneous principles of magic were, namely (i) law of similarity and (ii) the law of contact. The first law presumed that like produces like. The magic associated with this law or principle of similarity is designated as Homeopathic magic or imitative magic. In this, magicians were, thus, convinced that they could control nature by imitating it. Thus, if rain was needed, water was poured out, and to harm an enemy, a doll was fashioned in his image and needles run through its head and heart.

The second principle of magic, i.e., law of contact, presumed that once in contact was always in contact. The magic associated with this law was known as contagious magic. This law posited that connections remained in force even after separation. Thus, one could get hold of one's hair or nail, or clippings or clothes, he had worn, and burn or otherwise mutilate such items in the conviction that the same would happen to their former owner.

But when the human mind progressed, people began to realise that

they were fairly helpless, that their laws did not always work, and that they could not control nature by their own effort. The conviction then arose that higher, superhuman or supernatural powers governed the universe. With these insight, religion was born. Magicians became religious specialists and their supposed ability to contact and persuade supernatural spirits to act on their behalf gave them prestige and authority over people. Gradually, they became divine kings, whose departed souls were revered as Gods. The scientific stage was the highest development of human mind. Science was closely related to magic in as far as man once more began to manipulate nature by his own skills, but now he was equipped with correct laws. Frazer calls magic as 'bastard sister' of science or 'psuedo-science'.

Thus, Frazer depicted early men and contemporary primitives as rather irrational beings, although he would not deny that they had some capabilities as modern men. While it is true that science in a modern sense is of late appearance, in the history of mankind, it does not follow that non-literate people are wholly ignorant of natural causation. [As Malinowski showed later on, that Trobriand islanders employed magic to increase their crops, but they also carried out all other rational tasks necessary for production. Moreover, Frazer's stages cannot be found in ethnographic reality, and both magic and religion are certainly co-existent with science.

Frazer's evolutionary framework offered him ample opportunity to display his data, which he collected from many sources. Such as classic literature, existing ethnographies, folklore, and so forth. He also carried on an extensive correspondence with field workers, missionaries, and other foreign travellers. For their guidance, he wrote a pamphlet called "Questions on Manners, Customs, Religions, Superstitions, etc. of uncivilized or semi-civilized people. In this way, he collected an immense quantity of data using them to illustrate and demonstrate his stages of magic and religion in to meaningful and coherent whole, presenting a fascinating epic of the development of mankind, i.e. *The Golden Bough* in twelve volumes. Malinowski called the *Golden Bough* as the greatest scientific odyssey in modern humanism.

AMERICAN EVOLUTIONARY SCHOOL

Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881)

L.H. Morgan was born in Aurora, New York in 1818. He studied law in Albany and settled as a lawyer in Rochester. Here, he was in close contact with Iroquois Indians. Like many contemporary Americans, he was

attracted by clubs, lodge and similar fraternal societies. During his career as student, he formed the Order of the Gordian Knot, which purpose was to study ancient Greek myth and to imitate Greek customs. But when he became interested in the Iroquois, the lodge was remodeled and named as Grand Order of the Iroquois. He himself was elected as the chief under the lodge name of Skenenandoah. The members of this society called themselves as warriors. They discussed Iroquois Customs at their meetings and carried little to mahawks. Morgan along with other became interested in the study of Indian customs. Fortunately, Morgan met a young Seneca Indian in a book store, whose non-Indian name was Ely Parker. Parker was also a student in law and spoke english fluently. With the help of Parker, Morgan got opportunities to meet Indian chiefs and members of several Indian communities. Once Parker was invited to deliver a lecture at a meeting of Grand Order on songs, myths and ancient lore of his time, but instead he explained the miserable conditions of their Indian brotheren, who were poor, unhappy, desperate and victims of exploitation. His speech melted the heart of the members of society and Morgan made up his mind to take up the issue seriously. Not only that he assisted Seneca or Parker in their legal struggle with the government over land rights, in this connection, Morgan became aware that Indian cultures were rapidly changing and their customs should be recorded as early as possible. Visiting and interviewing many Iroquois Indians, he gathered informations related to dances, games, religion, language, material culture, form of government and family organisations. He analysed these research data systematically and published them in the form of a book entitled, *League of the Iroquois* in 1851. The book was considered as the first account of an Indian tribe ever given to the world and the best general book on this classic people.

While studying Iroquois Indian, he was keenly interested in government and family organisation of these classic people. For this purposes, he probed deeply into Indian marriage rules and system of matrilineal descent, but he was particularly struck by their system of naming relatives. He observed that an Iroquois child called his mother's sisters as mother, father's brothers as father, grandmother's sisters as grandmother and so on. Children of two or more sisters called each other brother and sister, and same was also true for children of two or more brothers. Morgan called this a *classificatory kinship system*, contrasting with the *descriptive kinship system* of civilized societies. First believing that it was a system of their own making, he soon discovered that Ojibwa Indians possessed a very similar system. Both must be derived from a common source. Because it seemed unlikely to Morgan that such a strange system could have been invented twice. It followed that if this

system was prevalent or universal among all American Indians, the unity of their origin would be proved. Furthermore, if the same system could also be found to exist in Asia, it would prove that American Indians were Asiatic in origin, a question that was by no means firmly settled in Morgan's time.

In order to test this hypothesis, Morgan took the help of questionnaire technique for data collection. He constructed a seven-page questionnaire, containing more than 200 questions for this purpose. The questionnaires were mailed to foreign missions and diplomatic representatives in United States and all over the world with the financial assistance of Smithsonian Institution. Set of questionnaires was also sent in India to collect informations from Tamils. Although many questionnaires were not returned dully filled in, because everyone had no time and energy to complete the complex questionnaire. But informations received revealed that other American Indians used a similar kinship terminology. Informations received from Tamils in India indicated that they also used a classificatory system of kinship terminology. Morgan was happily convinced that his hypothesis that American Indian Tribes were Asiatic in origin, was true and obtained its definite proof. The details of questionnaires and analysis of data were published in the form of book entitled, *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of Human Family* (1870). The publication of the book received appreciation as well as severe criticism. Mayer Fortes (1969:19) reviewed the book as golden vein of kinship and social organisation for scientific mining in the history of the human sciences. McLennan, a British classical evolutionist, whose theory was that patrilineality came first, while Morgan felt that matrilineality proceeded patrilineality, argued that Morgan misunderstood kinship terms altogether and had overestimated their importance. Lord Avebury observed that Morgan's own data revealed that classificatory kinship systems were present in Australia and Polynesia, then why did American Indians originate in Asia, rather than in other parts of the world.

Morgan was very much influenced by a minister and Sanskrit Scholar named Joshua McIlvaine, who pointed out to him that a wide spread occurrence of classificatory system did not merely indicate American Indians relationship to Asia, but would prove that all primitive groups, who used it, were related and that classificatory system might classify an earlier stage of human development. McIlvaine's remarks compelled Morgan to purchase a copy of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Before reading this book, he believed in divine creation of man. It is not well known, at what precise moment, Morgan felt to change his mind and to adopt the conclusion that man commenced at the bottom of scale from which he worked himself up to his present status. Later on, Morgan explained the

evolution of marriage from 'endogamy' to 'exogamy' in terms of deleterious biological consequences of in breeding.

Morgan's paper entitled, "A Conjectural Solution to the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationship" was published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1868. Thereafter, he emerged as a full-fledged evolutionist. In this paper, he traced the history of human family from primitive sexual promiscuity through fifteen stages of evolution to modern monogamy. In this reconstruction of history of marriage, he used a vast array of different types of kinship nomenclature. From this time onward, he began to work on the reconstruction of world history rather than that of American Indians alone. His thinking and researches in this direction produced monumental book *Ancient Society: Researches in Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* in 1877.

In this book Morgan envisioned human history as consisting three major "ethnical periods" - Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization. The first two periods were divided into sub-periods denoted Lower, Middle and Upper. These ethnical periods and their subdivisions were defined by the following sequence of technological innovations:

Ethnic Periods : Technological Development.

- Lower Savagery : Invention of speech, subsistence on fruits and nuts.
- Middle Savagery : Fish subsistence and the use of fire.
- Upper Savagery : Bow and arrow.
- Lower Barbarism : Pottery
- Middle Barbarism : Domestication of animals in the old world, Cultivation of maize by irrigation, adobe and stone brick buildings in New World.
- Upper Barbarism : Iron-smelting and Iron tools.
- Civilization : Phonetic alphabet and writing.

He was of opinion that each of these periods had a distinct culture and exhibits a mode of life more or less special and peculiar to itself. This specialization of ethnical periods rendered it possible to treat a particular society according to its condition of relative advancement and to make it a subject of independent study and discussion (1877: 9-18).

Edward B. Tylor had also talked about the evolution of ethnical periods as savagery, barbarism and civilization but he never placed a particular groups of cultures and technological inventions into any categories as Morgan did. His assumption was that survivals of materials and non-material cultures were sufficient evidence to indicate that the

mankind has reached into complex form of civilization from simple form of savagery through barbarism. Thus, unlike Tylor, Morgan assigned specific known cultures to the various stages of development. He was of opinion that lower savagery had passed out of existence. Australians and most polynesians were in middle savagery. Indian tribes east of Missouri river were in the stage of lower barbarism. Village Indians in Mexico, Central America and Peru were in middle barbarism, while Homeric Greeks, Germanic tribes of Caesar's time, and ancient Italians were in the stage of upper barbarism.

Except for civilization, Morgan used criteria of subsistence and material culture for the recognition of his periods of human history. He also established sequences of family organisation, kinship terminology, descent pattern, socio-political organisation and rules of inheritance of property. At every point, he asked himself how far and why institutions changed from one form to next. His observations revealed that kinship based society preceded the state formation, concept of property was not developed in early stage and inheritance pattern in those days was also absent. Therefore, he came to the conclusion that descriptive kinship terminology and monogamy were relatively late in their emergence.

His correlations, sequence and conclusions were also criticised. His analysis was also of a functionalist nature, particularly when he talked about the aspects of socio-political organisations interrelated with one another and tied to technological developments and economic pursuits.

The major weakness of Morgan's system rests in the confusion between *synchronic* and *diachronic* reconstructions. Extrapolating from living culture, he felt that past society could be fully recovered not by archaeological evidence but by simple accepting the Idea that contemporary non-literate societies in their totality were accurate reflections of the past. Tylor and McLennan were careful in explanations of the comparative method. They reconstructed the sequences of specific institutions or of discrete cultural elements, but not of whole cultures.

Morgan's last book entitled *Houses and House Life of American Aborigines* was published in 1881. This book was another land mark in the field of Anthropology. He was the first anthropologist to recognise that products of material culture do not occur in isolation from other social developments. He showed that the patterns of architecture interrelate with forms of family organisations and social life.

Weaknesses of Morgan's Scheme

The major weakness of Morgan's scheme was confusion between synchronic and diachronic approaches to the study of historical

reconstructions. Clear-cut application of comparative method did not appear in his study. His characterisation of contemporary cultures in terms of historical stages was also faulty. His correlations did not fit in and can be disproven even by a cursory glance at the ethnographic data. For instance, Hawaiians with a kinship system was early in Morgan's scheme, developed agriculture, were highly stratified and possessed a complex form of government. In the old world, civilization existed long before the use of iron. The Aztecs worked with native metals and had no knowledge of iron smelting, but nevertheless had a state government and developed a system of writing.

Enduring Aspects of Morgan's Scheme

In spite of severe criticism, Morgan made substantial contributions in the field of anthropology. His kinship terminology attracted many scholars to study the kinship organisation as a result of which nearly thousands of studies on kinship system were published after his death. His example of fieldwork, and first hand data collection were followed energetically even by Boasian, who were critical of him. His evolutionary schemes raised all problems basic to explanations of social change, and conclusive answers for all these have not been found. Implicitly, he recognised cultures as a functional whole, because all institutions were seen interrelated.

The present-day anthropologists have dropped the offensive words savagery and barbarism, but accept a historical sequence from hunting and gathering to domestication of plant and animals, and writing as the beginning of civilization. His observation that kinship based societies were the early form of government which proceeded state formation was accepted by all.

He is often criticised that he did not study deeply into the role of religion. But it is often over looked. He devoted on Iroquois religion in his book *League of Iroquois*. In his book *Ancient Society* he dealt with the problem of interrelationship between totemism and kinship.

Morgan and Tylor on Evolutionary Theory

For Morgan and Tylor, there were two logical explanations for the development of cultures along similar line, either the major patterns were independently reinvented time after time or the patterns had diffused from group to group as a result of intercultural communication. But what could cause the similarity in two patterns that had been independently invented? Their answer in essence was that there existed a

basic 'psychic unity' among all man-kind. Morgan reasoned that all men possessed certain 'germ ideas' that served as the basis of parallel development of socio-cultural patterns. These 'germ idea' had been part of man kind's mental equipment from the lowest period of savagery.

* Morgan pointed out (1877: 255) "human mind, specially the same in all individuals and in all the tribes and nations of mankind, limited in range of power works and must work, in the same uniform channels, and within narrow limits of variations. Its result in disconnected region of space, and in widely separated ages of time articulates in a logically connected chain of common experiences. In the grand aggregate may still be recognised the few primary germs of thought, working upon primary human necessities, which through the natural process of development have produced such vast result".

* Tylor agreed, nothing that the mental processes of man everywhere were essentially similar and that there were basic similarities of life-ways among savages that were not due to diffusion (1871). In abstract, both explanations — psychic unity and independent invention — were allowable. The rub came, when trying to decide which of the two adequately explained the specific similarities between diverse groups. When it was discovered that a given culture trait — such as a specific family from, a game such as the Indian Pachise, or metallurgy, was found among widely separated people, could the co-occurrence be due to wide-spread transmission from a single origin or was it the result of a series of independent inventions time after time in each of the groups?

There were profound implications riding on which of the two alternatives was finally to be selected and again the issue of progress versus degeneration was involved. Some anthropologists observed that degenerated savage group could progress only under the influence of more advanced people, i.e., due to diffusion. But if Tylor were to combat this issue, he would have to push the independent invention as alternative, i.e., evolution. This he did in Primitive Culture (1871) to the limits his empirical-oriented conceive would allow. On the other hand, diffusion could have made the evidence for the universality of certain mental processes much more questionable, because there would have been the dilemma of whether the similarities were not actually due to wide-spread transmission of traits.

* As a matter of fact, neither Tylor nor Morgan, ever argued exclusively for one of the two alternatives. There were many instances of diffusion to be ignored for the sake of 'psychic unity'. Their conclusion about which of the two, explanations, accounted for a given similarity, were drawn on the basis of evidence as they saw to fit to use it. Tylor was perhaps the more cautious of the two, often presenting the dilemma and

then withdrawing to wait for more evidence to accumulate. Morgan, in a logical contradiction to his germ idea concept, suggested a world wide diffusion of a given type of kinship group from a single origin and suggested other world wide dispersals of specific family forms, based only on the argument that forms were too complex to have been invented more than once (1877: 379-386).

There was still a sticky issue to be resolved. However, if 'Psychic unity' and 'diffusion' were both operative, how could the simultaneous 19th century existence of both civilized and savage groups be explained? Why had some groups evolved faster or more rapidly than others? On this issue, Morgan and Tylor became tangled in confusion of racial and socio-cultural factors as causes of evolutionary process. The relative clarity of psychic unity/diffusion alternative became frustratingly muddled.

Morgan and Tylor on Biological and Cultural Processes

Morgan and Tylor resorted at time to racist explanations for the unsynchronised evolutionary development along the mankind of the world. For instance, Morgan while describing the widespread dispersion of Gonowanian family type, went beyond mere diffusion as an explanation and argued that this form was transmitted with the blood (1870: 274). The mind of American Indian never experienced, what could be called as 'Profit motive'. This was the great reason for his continuance in hunter stage. Tylor (1881) compared civilised morality with that of savages and barbarians. His observations revealed that there were differences in high and low races of men and dull-minded barbarians had no power of thought enough to come up at civilized man's best moral standard.

But how can these explanations be fitted with notion of Psychic unity? The anthropologist, Marvin Harris (1968:139-140) offered his interpretation of Morgan's ideas:

As the races evolve, they pass through similar bio cultural stages. At any particular stage, the innate mental condition of the descendants of any branch of human species tends to be essentially similar. They, thus, tend to react to similar conditions in similar ways and to move in parallel fashion from savagery to civilization.

Thus, there were superior and inferior races as indicted by the level of cultural evolution. Of all racial groups, only white man had achieved the arbitrary standards of civilization by mid 19th century.

However, Harris interpretation does not resolve the apparent con-

tradition of evolution of human kind due to biological factor or cultural factor. Even Tylor and Morgan either did not see the problem or simply ignored them. To make the confusion more profound, both writers seemed at times to use the term races and cultures interchangeably. As they did not stick solely either to psychic unity or diffusion for cultural similarities, in the same way they did not resort strictly to racial explanations for the differences between savages and civilized men. Tylor (1881) for example, cited savage's lack of the 'large experience' of civilized cultures — a difference that is not clearly the result of savage genes. But whether this meant that savages lacked a large experience because they were inherently stupid or they did not have access to the scholarly knowledge accumulated and stored in thousands of years of other human literacy.

In fact, neither Tylor nor Morgan used biological analogies as extensively as Herbert Spencer. Morgan reported that emergence of consanguine family among savages afforded a good illustrations of the principle of natural selection, although he did not pursue the principle very actively (1877: 425). Tylor (1871) wrote, 'History and ethnography.... combine to show that institutions, which can best hold their own in world, gradually supersede the less fit ones, which determines the general resultant course of culture. However, when such pronouncements are separated from analysis, it becomes apparent that Tylor was not particularly interested in demonstrating the biological analogies, nor was he willingly to acknowledge a great intellectual debt to Darwin.

Yet Tylor and Morgan both shared a degree in the 'Social Darwinist' notions prevalent in their time. This was implicit in their assigning victorian England and America to the highest known stages of cultural evolution. The bearers of civilization were 'better and happier than those at lower stages of evolution'. The application of the 'survival of the fittest' dogma imposed on much of their analysis a moralistic bias that was contrary to modern canons of objective social science. The racial explanation for differences in evolutionary progress hindered scholarly inquiry in to the roles of psychic unity and diffusion in change process.

Influence of Morgan's Scheme on Marx and Engles

It is often quoted that Marx bought a copy of Morgan's *Ancient Society* and found in it a confirmation of his own materialistic conception of history. When Marx died, he left instructions for Engles to present Morgan's finding to a wider audience and a year later, Engles published, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, in the Light of Researches of Lewis Henry Morgan* (1884). The book contains a summary

of Morgan's arguments and evolutionary theory.

Why was Morgan's theory so important for Marx and Engels? Morgan himself was certainly more of bourgeois than a revolutionary, and he was inclined to consider his own American civilization as an epitome of safety and happiness. Yet his over all theory could be interpreted as evolution of economic production (fruits and nuts, fishing, agriculture, domestications of animal) and on the tools assisting these modes of subsistence (fire, bow, pottery, iron) was in the line with Marxian concept that production and the tools necessary for production are the basic factors determining the course of history. Since Morgan had made these criteria diagnostic for stages of cultural evolution and he had made all other aspects of society subordinate to that base, it was not surprising that Marx was impressed. Marx could present a total picture of social evolution in the materialistic manner. As neither he nor Engels possessed much knowledge of Primitive or Prehistoric cultures, Morgan with his first-hand knowledge was obviously a specialist in this area. Engels called Morgan as the first man who with expert knowledge had attempted to introduce a definite order into history of primitive man.

GERMAN OR CONTINENTAL EVOLUTIONARY SCHOOL

Johann Jacob Bachofen (1815-1877)

J.J. Bachofen was a classical continental evolutionist. Like Morgan, Maine, McLennan, he was also a lawyer by training. Like Morgan and McLennan, he believed that matrilineality was the early form of reckoning kinship, where as patrilineality was a developed form of kinship descent. In this way, the hypothesis of Maine that Patrilineality came earlier than matrilineality was not accepted by other evolutionists of his era.

Bachofen, a Swiss lawyer by profession, got opportunities to survey Greek classical writings and ethnographic literatures, in which he observed that in early societies children were named after their mothers. Literature further confirmed that it was still the case in some non-literate societies. On the basis of such observations in literatures, he arrived at a conclusion that '*matriarchy*' must have proceeded the '*patriarchy*'.

Bachofen observed that matriarchy was the second stage of development. Before reaching the stage of matriarchy, there existed a stage of '*heterism*' or sexual promiscuity or sexual communism. This stage, he deduced from the survivals of temple prostitution, a custom where priestesses gave themselves freely to male worshippers. Thus, his conclusion was that this practice must have been a survival of earlier promiscuous

condition. In this way, the arguments of Bachofen were more speculation and mystical than those of Morgan and Maine.

Such observations made Bachofen interested in collecting more and more informations on matrilineal societies. The data gathered were analysed and published in book form under the title, *Das Mutterrecht* or *Mother Right* in 1861. In this book Bachofen developed the following sequences of development of patriarchy:

In the early period of sexual promiscuity, women were merely treated as sex objects. Kinship lines or descents were traced through mother i.e. female, because in random mating it was quite impossible to know the real father of the child. This submissiveness was taken an ill and ancient women liberation movement revolted against it. As a result of this, they were successful in managing the chance to get upper hand in social affairs, ushering in the period of Amazonian assertiveness, where Gynocracy (mother-right) prevailed. In this stage female began to rule the world. Females deities were worshipped, female left was raised in dignity over male right side, the moon (because it regulated menstruation) was as more important than Sun. The earth began to rule over ocean, sorrow over joy, death over life, darkness over light and the youngest born was preferred over the oldest.

Eventually, women got tired of whole business and wanted husband to care for them. Simultaneously, male strove to over throw the female reign. First men pretended that they, too, could give birth and invented the couvade, a custom where a father goes to bed as if for child-bearing, when his wife is giving birth, so as to make believe that he has delivered a child and is thus equal to women. But even without such concepts men succeeded in their dominance. They rose to a new and higher principle of religion that of spirit. This highest principles of life is based on fatherhood as opposed to motherhood. The assertion of patriarchy and patrilineality reserved all former symbolism, the sun ruled the moon, the heavenly light prevailed over the darkness of the earth etc.

Taking Bachofen, Maine and McLennan together they have in common, first and foremost, an interest in history of social institutions and the dynamic dimensions of time. Although their evolutionary theories were to a great extent deductive and speculative, but is it beyond doubt that they were aware of proof and explanation of processes of change. They seriously examined the classical writings and ethnographic literatures to show that mankind was a unity and lower stages of development were directly related to later ones. When written documentation was lacking, they devised means to fill the gap by survivals' concept, which also came to play an important role in Tylor's reconstruction of primitive culture. According to them, the concept of survivals meant that items of

culture that were no longer active or functional but must have had meaning before, and were thus indication of conditions of earlier periods.

On the whole, they focused attention on the importance of development of social institutions. Not only they, thus contributed to the analysis of culture, but they clearly understood that Law, kinship, marriage etc. were to be understood in relationship to each other and to social conditions in general.

In their views, historical explanations were sufficient to the understanding of varieties of culture. Their method became known as 'historical method', which meant the attempt to show that human culture had undergone progressive and accumulative growth. Thus, it was necessary to reconstruct total panorama of human history. They relied also upon the 'comparative method' which postulated that primitive cultures or societies reflect the early conditions of mankind. Evolutionary sequences could thus be established by comparing and analysing certain aspects or institutions to complex ones. The equation of primitive with early was justified by the idea that primitive populations were conservative to an extreme degree.

Although, they intended to give an over all picture of evolution of specific social institutions, and were rather convinced that progress had taken place in an orderly way so that higher forms of organisation followed lower one by necessity of time. They were, however, not strict unilinear evolutionist. They recognised that environmental or social conditions sometimes embedded change, some times accelerated it. McLennan pointed out two types of development of polyandry — Tibetan and Nair. Maine was of opinion that societies advanced at different rates of progress.

As a whole, the aim of these evolutionists, was to present an over all view of cultural history, but they did not attempt to reconstruct unequivocal stages to total cultural development. Instead, they focused attention upon separate but related phenomena of law, family, marriage and kinship.

Adolf Bastian (1826-1905)

Adolf Bastian, was an another German ethnographer, who strongly championed the psychic unity principle in reconstructing culture history. Being empiricist, he criticised and rejected both Lamanck's and Darwin's theories of evolution on the ground that no one had seen species changing into another. He wrote two books in German language, which have not been translated into English. These are as follows:

- (i) *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, O'Wigand, Leipzig, 1860
- (ii) *Ethnische Elementargedanken in der Lehre vom Menschen*, Berlin, 1895.

These books revealed that he was interested in the study of history of culture in terms of social evolution. His emphasis was more on similarities of culture between different types of people rather than their differences. He was of opinion that similarities were caused due to psychic unity of man kind. His opinion revealed that there was a restricted number of basic ideas common to all mankind, a theory presently examined by Le'vi-Strauss. Bastian called these basic ideas as Elementargedanken, which means, elementary thought pattern. Since these ideas develop in various environments, they always find their specific expression as 'Volkergedanken' (folk idea). Those ideas with similar 'folk ideas' constituted 'Geographical provinces', a concept foreshadowing later American culture areas concept. Bastian gladly admitted that these provinces had not remained pure, because migration and diffusion had introduced different culture traits. In this way, he was better aware of complexity of cultural evolution than many other 19th century evolutionists.

Bastian's writing are virtually unknown to present day anthropologists and perhaps with good reason because his style was confused, obscure, ornate, bombastic, and untranslatable, but he clearly realised that simple stages of development could not exist because too many different factors had intervened. As he was well travelled, he also collected various objects of material culture, which eventually found their way into the Museum fur volkerkunde in Berlin, which he helped to establish. Along with Rudolf Virchow, he founded the German Society for Anthropology. He also founded the German African Society by which his scientific journal of anthropological fields entitled "Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie" was published.

* CRITICISM OF CLASSICAL EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

There is no denying the fact that classical evolutionists tried their best to explore, analyse and understand cultural processes on the basis of their postulates and theories of evolution of cultures or culture as a whole. It is also true that they surveyed ample existing literatures, left by travellers, missionaries, ethnographers to reconstruct the history of cultural institutions and mankind as a whole. Where the written account was not available, they took help of cultural survivals, which played significant role in their analysis of reconstruction. Historical and compara-

active approach, used by them as method of viewing research, is still accepted as important tool for understanding the present cultural phenomena in relation to past. In this way, they have preserved a vast material on development of human culture and civilization of further inquiry and explorations for the coming generations. But inspite of all such valuable contributions made in the field of anthropology in general and cultural and social anthropology in particular, their theories of cultural evolution have been subjected to many criticism. Major criticism levelled against them are as follows:

(I). These evolutionists mostly tried to show independent evolution of culture stage after stage or period after period in a sequence. Thus, their explanation was one sided. This one sided analysis was their greatest weakness for which they were frequently criticised by other anthropologists in general and diffusionists in particular.

(II). These evolutionists have accepted that origin of similar cultural traits was due to similar cause. This assumption of evolutionist is also a subject to criticism because human history is a witness that different cultures have originated in same geographical environment. If these scholars would have gone through more historical and archaeological evidences, they might have accepted their such mistake. It is true that each society has dissimilar geographical and other environmental conditions, which naturally influences the processes of cultural development. Then how it is possible that in ununiform environmental situations, the process of evolution was similar. Critics believe that in different environmental condition, the processes of evolution also follow different ways and direction. For instance, the institution of polygencous marriage originated due to plenty of women at a place, while on another place, it existed on account of social prestige and wealth.

(III). The claim of these evolutionists, that mankind of world has passed through different stages or period of cultural development in a sequence, also does not stand true for all cultural or social groups. It can not be said safely that the evolutionary sequences of economic development such as food gathering and hunting, domestication of plant and animal, introduction of agriculture, and setting of industry, were similar, for all societies. Later anthropological researches do not support this conclusion. For instance, practice of hunting and food gathering indicates the early stage of economic development, historically and archaeologically, but this stage of hunting and gathering is still existing among the societies belonging to other stages of economic development. Again we do not have sufficient evidence to refer to that in history of mankind there was a time, when men survived only on hunting. The survey of primitive world reveals that there are many tribes of America and

Africa, which carry on agriculture but they have not passed through the stage of domestication of animal. It means that among them, the stage of agriculture developed from hunting and gathering without following the evolutionary sequence of pastoralism. This indicates that the sequence of evolution can get broken by other existing situation. For example, in India the setting up of industries have made many tribals industrial labour, who led a life like hunter, gatherer and pastoral. In this way, they did not reach into a stage of agriculture, before reaching the stage of industrial labour.

In the same way, the sequence of technological developments — stone age, bronze age and iron age — do not appear true as for all societies of mankind. Though the evidences of technological developments in European countries throw sufficient light to believe that culture of mankind as a whole has passed through the successive periods of stone age, bronze age and iron age, but evidences gathered from African countries indicate that Africa witnessed the development of iron age after stone age. Uptill now, there is no proof available to refer to existence of copper age there. Such examples reveal clearly that evolutionary theory of cultural processes can not be limited in boundary of certain definite sequence.

IV. The evolutionists are also criticised for adopting weak method of study. They all were arm-chair anthropologists, who never visited the field for actual observation of the phenomena, rather they were disinterested in fieldwork. They relied upon the data gathered by travellers and missionaries and never showed interest in testing the reliability of data before arriving at a conclusion. They had become so extremist in establishing their theory of cultural evolutionism that wherever they observed similarities in culture traits, they tried to place them in a sequence.

V. Evolutionists were so biased with their preconceptions that they forgot the theory of diffusion or migration of culture traits. In other words, they overlooked that culture traits diffuse or migrate from one place to another. Culture is dynamic not static, which is an important characteristic of culture. Diffusionists have tried to show that culture growth is also caused by the process of diffusion. As culture is imitated, when groups having different cultures come in contact with each other, they imitate culture traits of each other. As a result of this, the diffusion of culture takes place at distant places.

VI. Golden-wieser, an American diffusionist, criticised evolutionists not only because they ignored the significance of diffusion in cultural development, but, at the same time, the classical evolutionists also neglected the importance of discovery or invention. According to him, culture is an invention or discovery of human beings through social

needs. Historical evidences make it clear that evolution in culture does not take place in that sense in which the evolutionists have used. It is tradition of society which makes a culture living. Many generations join their hands and shoulder in its continuation. Each generation adds new knowledge etc. in the developmental process of culture. Whether this processes of cultural development would be termed as evolution? If it is, it cannot be denied that evolution means only change in form, but also in quality. Qualitative change is possible through creative processes, whose expression can be found in social invention or discovery. For qualitative change in cultural form, he does not believe in psychic unity, but it was possible by way of diffusion of invented traits.

In spite of these severe criticism, evolutionism is now no longer unfashionable. Though much modern theories differ from earlier ones, but the relevance of their over all approach is generally recognised.

POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF CLASSICAL EVOLUTIONISTS

Although on the basis of empirical researches of 20th century, classical evolutionary scheme has been criticised, but their following contributions cannot be forgotten:

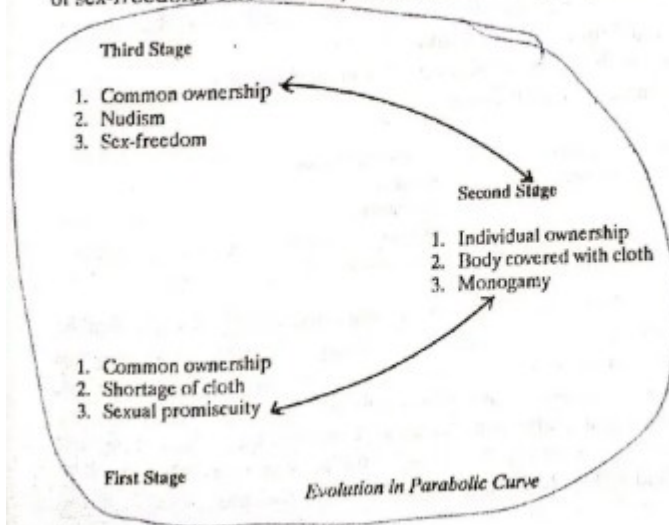
1. Anthropology as a 'science of culture' and separate discipline of study was established by the greatest pioneer E.B. Tylor in 1884 at Oxford university, London.
2. They developed the concept of culture and advanced the principle that culture and race must not be confused in studying the life-ways of human society.
3. They distinguished those subdivisions of culture, which we call today, as aspects and showed their usefulness in studying culture.
4. They established the principle of continuity and orderly development of culture, a principle, that must underly any realistic approach to the analysis of cultural dynamics.
5. By analysing and comparing the cultures of the universe, they have provided rich material to cultural anthropology for the study and further explorations.

Neo-Evolutionary School

Classical or unilinear evolutionists had to face rough criticism by 20th century diffusionists and relativists, on the ground of empirical data. Diffusionists emphasised upon the need of cultural diffusion which brought about similarities in cultures of the world. They disfavoured the idea of 'psychic unity' and 'parallel inventions' on the argument that basically men were uninventive, but they had limitless capacity to adapt and imitate, which is possible either by diffusion or by migration. Historical par-

ticularists or cultural relativists emphasised upon divergent trends in culture of a area, or sub-area. They were not ready to accept unilinear sequences of cultural evolution, in which cultural diversities were not denied, but they were of mere secondary importance.

In order to remove those shortcomings, Neo-evolutionary scheme was proposed by Neo-evolutionists. Among Neo-evolutionists, Leslie White and Julian Steward of America and V. Gordon Childe of Britain, occupy most significant place in reviving evolutionary theory. Neo-evolutionists believe that all weaknesses of classical evolutionary theory can be solved, if it is accepted that culture develops not in unilinear sequence but in the form of *Parabolic curve*. According to parabolic curve theory of cultural evolution, a social institutions is born in specific form in the early stage. It, then, gradually develops in entirely different form in different direction. It again moves towards original form but in a new developed form. For instance: the institution of property was born in the form of communal ownership or communism. In Medieval time, the common ownership took the form of private ownership. Today, again the concept of common ownership through state has developed. Similarly, in the beginning there was lack of clothes and men used to remain naked. Invention of clothes made it possible to cover the entire body. But in present time, the adoption of fashion is compelling to remain half-naked. This sequence can also be observed in the field of sex-relation. In early stage, there was sexual promiscuity, in course of time monogamy came into existence, and again in present time, arguments are made in favour of sex-freedom. There examples can be shown by graph as follow:



This is particularly true for the western countries. But societies in east will also follow it.

British Neo-Evolutionary School

V. Gordon Childe (1892-1957)

The only pioneer, of British School of Neo-evolutionism, was V. Gordon Childe. V. Gordon Childe was a trained archaeologists and on the basis of collection of materials remains from East and Europe, and comparing them, he attempted to make evolutionary scheme alive. Before dealing with his evolutionary theory, it would be worthy to mention here the list of publications made by him. These are so follows:

1. *The Dawn of Western Civilization*, New York 1925
2. *New Light on most Ancient East*, New York, 1934
3. *What happened in History*, New York, 1946
4. *Social Evolution*, New York, 1951
5. *Man Makes Himself*, New York 1951
6. *What is History*, New York, 1953

His most famous book, which describes evolution of culture, is *Social Evolution*. He described evolution of culture in terms of three major events: (i) invention of food production, (ii) urbanisation and (iii) industrialization. Analysing the transitions that took place under the impact of these major events, he presented an overall view of evolutionary process and delineated its common factors.

According to him, the evolution of archaeological periods and cultural developments are as follows:

Sl. No.	Archaeological period	Cultural development
1.	Palaeolithic period	Savagery
2.	Neolithic period	Barbarism
3.	Copper age	Higher Barbarism
4.	Early Bronze age	Civilization

His above scheme of evolutionary sequence clearly reveals that he was very much influenced by Tylor's and Morgan's evolutionary schemes of cultural development, i.e., Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization. Thus, he was a devout follower of unilinear evolution of classical evolutionists. He did not place particular cultural groups into savagery, barbarism and civilization as L.H. Morgan had done. But he was more close to E.B. Tylor, who had talked that mankind as a whole had passed through the

successive cultural development stages of savagery, barbarism and civilization. As V.G. Childe discussed evolution of culture of mankind as a whole, Julian Steward called him as universal evolutionist, because he had placed general stages of evolution applicable to mankind as a whole not of specific or particular cultures which were the creation of local environmental factors. In establishing universal sequence of cultural development, Childe opined that all societies had lived in different historical environments and had passed through different ups and downs due to which their traditions had diverged. As a result of which multiplicity had emerged in cultural ethnography. Childe further stressed that the considerations of multiplicity or particular or specific culture would be our handicap, if objective was to establish general stages in evolution of culture. He was of opinion that in establishing general stages of evolution, diffusion must also be discounted, because any society must be in a position to accept diffused technological and social features.

The universal evolutionary scheme of Childe was similar to Leslie White, a contemporary evolutionist of America, who also believed in universal sequence of evolution. Therefore, the names of V.G. Childe and Leslie White; are frequently uttered together as pioneers, who revived evolutionary theory in 20th century in the same unilinear sequence as proposed by 19th century classical evolutionist. Their universal sequence was similar to unilinear sequence of 19th century evolutionists in scope of its generalization; but not in its treatment to particulars. Their emphasis was more on culture, i.e., general evolution of mankind or/and culture as a whole. But they never, took in to consideration, the local environmental factors in their universal evolutionary scheme.

Childe postulated different order of evolution from those of 19th century evolutionists. His cultural sequences were so general that they were neither very arguable like classical evolutionists, nor very useful. No one can dispute that hunting and gathering, which is Childe's diagnostic of savagery, proceeded plant and animal domestication, which is his criterion of barbarism. Domestication of plant and animal was the precondition of large populations, cities, internal social differentiation and specialization, and the development of writing and mathematics, are his characteristics of civilization. Childe opined that a drastic change in the life pattern of mankind appeared in civilizational stage, in which an aggressive attitude towards environment developed among mankind. Forest-dwellers or cave-dwellers became house-dwellers. Hunters and gatherers became food producer by adopting agriculture. Writing made them capable of preserving their tradition and mathematics came into being for counting things. The development of cities made them urbanised and technological advancement of smelting copper, bronze, iron

etc. made them capable of producing durable utensils and implements. Thus, according to him, at each stage of cultural development, mankind developed their technological skill to exploit natural resources. In the early stage, less advanced technological skill, had made them less aggressive towards environment, but as knowledge went on increasing, they became more and more aggressive.

While correlating cultural development with technological materials, V. Gordon Childe; a key figure in English archaeology, was a marxist and devout follower of Morgan's stages of savagery, barbarism and civilization. As Marx was very much influenced by Morgan's evolutionary scheme, and Childe also supported Morgan's scheme, therefore, he was regarded as a Marxist. Marx believed that production and the tools necessary for production were the basic factors determining the course of history.

When V. Gordon Childe discusses specific sequence of middle East and Europe, he seems more closer to historical particularism than to historical materials. Childe's working model of evolution was like Darwinian tree of life. He treated variations as invention, heredity as learning and diffusion and selection as cultural adaptation and choice. It was certainly a worthy objective to seek universal laws of cultural change. It must be stressed, however, that universal laws postulated are concerned with the fact that culture changes and, thus, can not explain particular features of particular cultures. Thus, the laws of cultural and biological evolution are similar.

Despite his explicit Marxist learning, Childe was unsuccessful in achieving reconciliation between the abstract over all transition from savagery to civilization, and his super knowledge of specific development sequences in Middle-East and Europe. He did recognise certain parallels in the end product, but he saw there as resulting more from diffusion than from parallel evolution.

The interesting steps in development did not exhibit even abstract parallelism.

"the observed developments in rural economy do not run parallel. They cannot be defined stages common to all the sequences examined..... In fine, the development of barbarians rural economics in the regions surveyed exhibits not parallelism but divergence and convergence" (Childe 1951:116).

Childe was unfamiliar with the importance of irrigation in Mesopotamia and Egypt both from the perspective of productivity and organisational exigencies and controls as appears from the following

quotation:

Conditions of life in a river valley or other oasis place in the hands of society exhibit an exceptional power for coercing its members. The community can refuse a recalcitrant access to water and can close the channels that irrigate his fields. Rain falleth upon the just and unjust alike, but irrigating waters reach the field by channels that community has constructed. And what society has provided, society can also withdraw from the unjust and confine to the just one. The social solidarity needed by irrigators can, thus, be imposed due to the very circumstances that demand it. And young man cannot escape the restraint of their elders by founding fresh villages, when all beyond the oasis is waterless desert. So, when the social wills come to be expressed through a chief or a king, he is invested not merely with moral authority, but with coercive force, too. He can apply sanctions against the disobedient (Childe 1946: 90).

Weaknesses of Childe's Scheme

1. Childe's most serious shortcomings were lack of interest in the civilizational sequence outside of the middle east and Europe. At one hand, he correctly concluded that there was little resemblance between the specific steps involved in the development of civilization in Europe, but he was unprepared to look for parallels in Mexico or Peru, on the other hand.
2. He relied too much on archaeological data to explain cultural evolution, but he could not be able to differentiate the old hunters and gatherers from today, because they differ significantly in possession of hunting implements.
3. He could not take into consideration the universal existing institutions of matriarchy, sexual promiscuity, etc. without giving any argument.

Despite of such criticism, it was V. Gordon Childe, who made alive the evolutionary theory even after serious criticism by 20th century relativists, particularists, diffusionists etc. Being a man of archaeology, he was successful in presenting universal scheme of cultural evolution in terms of archaeological sequences.

Julian H. Steward (1902-1972)

Julian H. Steward was one of the students of A.L. Kroeber at the University of California and had contributed data to the Culture-

Element-Distribution Study". He was trained at Berkeley, where he received Ph.D. in 1931. His earlier work was dominated by particularist influences emancipating from Kroeber and Lowie. Steward's own interest in environmental factors was first consolidated by fieldwork among the Eastern Mono and Paiute of Owens Valley, California in 1927 and 1928. Up to the publication of his, *The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands*, Steward's position corresponded essentially to those anthropologists, who regarded the natural environment as a vaguely limiting or enabling factor in culture history. But later on, he selected to focus his attention on "Cultural Ecology" and "Multilinear Evolution".

His most famous book entitled, *Theory of Culture Change* was published in 1955 from University of Illinois Press, Urbana. Besides this book, he contributed a good number of papers in reputed journals, which are as follows:

1. 1929: "Diffusion and Independent Invention: A Critique of Logic", *American Anthropologist*, 31:491-95.
2. 1936: "Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands" R. Lowie ed., *Essays in Anthropology* presented to A.L. Kroeber, University of California Press, Berkeley, 133-45.
3. 1937: "Ecological Aspects of South Western Society", *Anthropos*, 32:87-104.
4. 1938: *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-Political Groups*, Washington, 104.
5. 1946: "Hand Book of South American Indian", Washington, Bureau of American Ethnology Bull, 120.
6. 1948: "A Functional Developmental Classification of American High Culture". W. Bennet ed. *A Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology*, Memories of the Society for American Archaeology, 103-104.
7. 1949: "Cultural Casualty and Law: A Trial Formulation of Early Civilization", *American Anthropologist*, 51: 1-27.
8. 1956: "Cultural Evolution", *Scientific American*, 194:69:80.
9. 1960: "Review of White's The Evolution of Culture", *American Anthropologist*, 62: 144-48.

Steward's Three-fold Classification of Evolution

in his book *Theory of Culture Change*, Julian Steward has suggested a three-fold classification of evolutionary approaches. These are: Unilinear, Universal and Multilinear evolution. The Unilinear, says Steward, was characteristic of classical evolutionist, of the emergence of

a distinctively European culture area. In actual practice, Childe is more inclined towards multi-linear evolution than Steward. Unilinear and universal evolution have been described earlier. Let us discuss here Steward's multilinear evolution.

① Steward's Multilinear Evolution :

Steward was of opinion that all cultures of the world have not passed through the same developmental stage, rather their stages were different in different areas or sub-areas. For example, the sequences of cultural developments, in ice-area, deserted area, forested area and plain area, are different due to varied environmental situations. Cultural evolution of these areas can be studied by choosing the limited parallels of evolution and comparing them with each other. Thus, cross-cultural examinations of regularities or parallels will yield successful result of evolution. Steward studied the cultures of Mexico, Mesopotamia, Egypt and China cross-culturally, and arrived at a conclusion that these cultures have evolved in the same developed stage beginning from pre-agriculture stage, but in different areas and in different period following the multilinear course of evolution.

Thus, multilinear evolution is a methodology based on assumption that significant regularities or parallels occur in cultural change, and it is concerned with the determination of cultural laws. Its method is empirical rather than deductive. It is inevitably concerned with historical reconstruction but it does not expect that historical data can be classified into universal stages. It is concerned with local variations and diversified facts which force the frame of reference from particular to general. Thus, what is lost in universality, will be gained in concreteness and specificity. Multilinear evolution, therefore, has no priori schemes or law. It puts question simply whether any genuine parallels or similarities occur between certain cultures. These similarities may involve salient feature of the whole culture or they may involve only special features, such as a clan, societies, classes, priesthood, military pattern and the like.

Steward's Method of Multilinear Evolution: Parallelism and Casualty

Parallelism and casualty are always present in the study of cultures. The methodological approach of multilinear evolution is to establish sequences of parallel development that could be investigated in empirical reality. It was Steward's thesis that society with a similar technology, existing in similar environment, would parallel one another also in their forms of social and political organisation. Thus, it appeared to him that

hunter-gatherers tended to form patrilineal band, and that widely scattered Indian societies, that had accepted the worse after its introduction into America, were comparable in their socio-political organisations. His argument was strengthened by the researches of Karl Wittfogel, who showed that societies located in war undulating river, which carried out irrigation agriculture, originated state organizations, demonstrating the interaction between environment, technology and political organisations. Thus, multilinear evolutionists have generally acknowledge the inter-relationships between environment and technology, so that latter can be viewed as a variable rather than ultimate cause of evolution. It called upon the attention to the question as to how to combine the particular with general or how the study of individual culture could yield meaningful information about culture writ at large.

② Steward's Concept of Man-Habitat Interaction: Cultural Ecology

Steward suggested a systematic way to study the dynamics of man-habitat interaction so as to get a process and at the same time to provide cross-cultural generalisations. His method was based on a simple assumption that not all features of a given habitat, ecology, are relevant to a given socio-cultural system, nor all systemic elements, i.e., religion, politics, technology and kinship etc. are equally affected by man-habitat interaction. The analyst task is to determine what features of the habitat bear upon the productive patterns of the system by focusing on those systematic features, which empirical analysis shows to be most closely involved in the utilization of habitat in culturally prescribed ways. The idea is to strip those who dealt with particular cultures placing them in a stages of universal sequences. Thus, he called Tylor, Morgan, Maine, McLennan, Bachofen and Bastian as unilinear evolutionists. But every one of classical evolutionists also fits in Steward's Second category, the Universal evolution, which is arbitrary label to designate White's revamping of unilinear evolution, and which is connected with culture rather than with cultures. He called specially White and V. Gordon Childe as universal evolutionist. Steward's third brand of evolutionism is multilinear evolution, which is defined as follows:

... it is interested in particular cultures, but instead of finding local variations and diversities which force the frame of reference from the particular to general. Thus, it deals with only those limited parallels of form, function and sequence, which have empirical validity (1955: 14-19).

The inadequacy of this classification is shown by the fact that the two anthropologists, whom Steward nominates for universal evolutionism, namely White and Childe, are equally good contenders for at least one of the other categories. White as much as classical evolutionists, has attempted to locate specific cultures in relation to universal schemes. In his book, *The Evolution of Culture* (1956), White not only attempted to trace the whole course of cultural development, from the transition of anthropoid to human society, to the beginning of iron age, but he also reconstructed specific culture sequences in the light of the general trends manifested in universal sequence. White's practice to interpret the significance of various institutions in particular societies is based on the assumption that the culture has reached certain stage of evolution.

As for evolutionism of V. Gordon Childe, there must be taken into consideration not only Childe's adherence to Morgan's universal stages of savagery, barbarism and civilization in the presentation of Middle Eastern archaeological sequences, but his highly particularistic treatment to do away all irrelevant aspects of both environment and socio-cultural system so as to clarify the ecological relationship and its change through time. This stripping away of all but those features most directly involved with exploiting the habitat, leave only the evolutionary important portion of socio-cultural system, which Steward called the *Culture Core*. The system's technology is the basic component of the core, but technology must always be analysed in terms of the conditions of the local habit. He defined such cores as the constellation of features which are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements. He states that there were three fundamental procedure of cultural ecology:

1. Interrelationship between technology and environment must be analysed.
2. The behaviour patterns involved in exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology must be analysed.
3. To ascertain the extent, to which the behaviour pattern entailed in exploiting the environment, affects other aspects of culture (Steward 1955: 40-41).

Calling diffusionist interpretation of South American culture, as unsatisfactory, he states that the acceptance or rejection of diffused traits was always contingent upon local potentiality. These potentialities are a function of local ecology, i.e. interaction of environment, exploitative devices and socio-economic habit.

Steward's Concept of Cultural Taxonomy in Relation to Cultural Evolution

According to Steward, all science must have precise means of identifying and classifying the recurrent phenomena with which they deal with. It is symptomatic of historical rather than scientific orientation of cultural studies that few terms have been used to designate whole culture or component of cultures, which may be employed cross-culturally as well. Such taxonomic terms as hill culture, plain culture, forest culture, Indian culture, Tribal culture, Muslim culture, Hindu culture, European culture, American culture etc. appear frequently, which also suggest parallels of form. These statuses of cultural taxonomy reveal a preoccupation with relativism or historical particularism. Such taxonomic terms reveal that they are fundamentally derived from culture area concept.

Culture can also be classified in terms of value system or ethos. It has also the same basis as that of culture-areas. Such classification reveals a common core of shared culture traits which causes all members of society to have the same outlook and psychological characteristics. Thus, Benedict's concept of pattern, Mead's concept of national character, Opler's concept of themes are derived from a taxonomic approach, which is basically like that of Wissler, Kroeber etc.

If a taxonomic system is to be devised for the purpose of determining cross-cultural parallels and regularities rather than of stressing upon contrasts and differences, there is need of a concept *Culture Types*. Culture type differs from culture-area in several respects. It is characterised by selected features. The selection of diagnostic features must be determined by the problem and frame of reference. The selected features are presumed to have the same functional interrelationship with one another in each case. The taxonomic schemes to determine parallels and regularities in terms of development processes will have to distinguish in many cultural types. The universal methodology as proposed by White will not serve our purpose. Thus, cultural taxonomy is related to cultural evolution in determining cross-cultural regularities or similarities in different cultural types, which ultimately yield multilinear trends of evolution.

Weaknesses of Steward's Scheme

1. Marvin Harris (1969:655) has not accepted multilinear evolutionism as a methodology. To him, link between cultural ecology and cultural materialism appears spurious issue of evolutionism.

2. The question as to how many is multilinear is not solved in Steward's Scheme.
3. His concept of cultural core seems confusing and analogous to base of Marx.
4. White, a contemporary of Steward, has criticised him for confusing history with evolution, because history is concerned with particulars, while evolution seeks to generalise.

Leslie A. White (1900-1975)

White had acquired a strong Boasian outlook during his graduate studies. At the New School in New York, he was taught by Alexander Golden Wiczer and at the University of Chicago, he was influenced by Boasians, where he obtained Ph.D. degree in 1927. His first anthropological article was published in 1925, which was a typical Boasians plea for the importance of cultural factors in the determination of personality. This was in many ways parallel to the programme upon which Margaret Mead was about to embark.

The beginning of White's anti-Boasian position took place during the two years that he taught at the University of Buffalo. At it was an Iroquois territory, he was obliged to read Morgan for the first time. He was shocked on those who had accepted Morgan as a worthless example of speculative philosophy on the basis of second-hand opinion. It was at this point that he observed Morgan as remarkable scholar. The step from Morgan to Marx via Engles was inevitable. By 1929, he was deeply involved in Marxist matter to take time out for a trip to Soviet Union. White returned from Soviet Union to take up teaching position at the University of Michigan. He ultimately succeeded in establishing one of the major centres of anthropology. White was uncompromisingly and outspokenly hostile to historical particularism of Boasians and others, psychological reductionism, to doctrine of free will and theological teleology. He managed to avoid placing his critique within the arena of Marxist disputation.

White over and over again has insisted in defence of 19th century evolutionists that they never proposed that all cultures necessarily passed through the same set of stages, e.g., Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization. It also becomes clear from the observations of Sahlins and Service (1960:12) that Tylor laid down that study of cultural evolution deals with stage by stage as well as along its many lines. The only issue worth discussing is the frequency of convergence and parallelism, not whether they are exceptions to the regularities of the history, but rather how frequently they occur.

He was of opinion that in perspective of Tylor and Morgan, there is no doubt, that the parallelism and convergence were often assumed to be far more frequent than the facts have subsequently justified. It was his faith, in the uniformity in historical experiences which led him to suppose that his fragmentary data on archaic Greece was adequate for identifying matrilineal stage.

When Tylor spoke of tendency of experiences of mankind to move through uniform channels, it was not to say that mankind in general is distinguished from mankind in particular shared these channels. Such a distinction is a refinement for which White's heroes had no need. Tylor meant that most (not all) cultures unfolded along similar lines. The exceptions recognised by both Tylor and Morgan, were explicable in terms of race, diffusion and environmental specialities. Thus, to speak the position of Tylor and Morgan in terms of impoverished antinomy is misleading.

It clearly appears that White was very much influenced by L.H. Morgan and E.B. Tylor, although his writings were also incorporated a good deal from Spencer, Marx, Engels and Durkheim. His own evolutionary theory was what there men had in 19th century, but was also benefited from additional anthropological data that accumulated since.

White (1945: 335) labelled a severe criticism against Boas and his followers, historical particularists. He called them as premature and scientifically suspect in their rejection of evolutionism. He called them premature, because they never really gave evolutionary approaches a chance to accomplish their intended result, and scientifically suspect because they distorted what Morgan and Tylor had talked about such issues as universal stages and importance of diffusion as a dynamic process.

Repeatedly attacking on the cautious empiricism of Boas groups, White writes,

In addition to being anti-materialist, they are anti-philosophic and anti-intellectualist and anti-evolutionist. In fact, they are opposed to so many things that someone has characterised their philosophy as eclectic negativism. It has been their mission to demonstrate that there are no laws of significance in cultural phenomena, that civilization is the foremost exponent of this philosophy (White 1949: 368).

White made a good number of contributions in making the evolutionary scheme alive by publishing books and articles, which are as follows:

1. 1925 : "Personality and Culture", *The Open Court*, 39: 145-49.
2. 1939 : "A Problem in Kinship Terminology", *American Anthro*

- pologist, 41: 566-73.
3. 1940 : *Pioneers in American Anthropology: The Bandelier-Morgan letters 1873-1883*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
 4. 1942 : *The Pueblo of Santa Ana*, New Mexico, American Anthropological Association, Memoir, 60.
 5. 1943 : "Energy and Evolution of Culture", *American Anthropologist*, 45: 335-56.
 6. 1945 : "Diffusion versus Evolution of Culture: An anti-evolutionist Fallacy". *American Anthropologist*, 45: 335-56.
 7. 1947(a): "The Expansion of Scope of Science". *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, 37: 181: 210.
 8. 1947(b): "Evolutionism in Cultural Anthropology: A Rejoinder". *American Anthropologist*, 49: 400-11.
 9. 1949(a): "The Science of Culture", New York, Grove Press.
 10. 1949(b): "Ethnological Theory", R.W. Sales ed. *Philosophy for Future: The Quert of Modern Materialism*. New York, Macmillan 357: 84.
 11. 1957 : "Review of Steward's Theory of Culture Change", *American Anthropologist*, 59: 540-42.
 12. 1958 : "What is classificatory kinship Terms", *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*, 14: 375-85.
 13. 1959(a): "The concept of Evolution in Cultural Anthropology", B. Meggars ed., *Evolution and Anthropology*. Washington: The Anthropological Society of Washington, 106-25.
 14. 1959(b): *The Evolution of Culture*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
 15. 19663 : The Ethnology and Ethnography of Franz Boas, Austin: *Bulletin of the Texas Memorial Museum*.
 16. 1966 : *The Social Organisation of Ethnological Theory*, Rice Universities Studies, 52: 1-66.

White's Approach to Evolutionary Theory

Out of these publications, his two famous books *The Science of Culture* (1949) and *The Evolution of Culture* (1959), deal with the theoretical issues related to his approaches of neo-evolutionism. The basic strategy of White's evolutionism is cultural materialism phrased in energy terms. For White, processes related to socio-cultural system consists of three parts: (i) Techno-economic, (ii) Social and (iii) Ideological. Thus, culture becomes primarily a mechanism for harnessing energy and of putting it to work in service of man. Secondly, of challenging and regulat-

ing his behaviour not directly concerned with subsistence and offence and defence. Social Systems are therefore, determined by technological systems. Philosophies and arts express experience as it is defined by technology and refracted by social system.

For White culture is an extrasomatic temporal continuum of things and events dependent upon symbolism. Specifically and concretely, culture consists of tools, implements, utensils, clothing, ornaments, customs, institutions, beliefs, rituals, games, works of art, language etc.

This definition of culture by White is like of Tylor's definition of culture. But he has placed emphasis on *extrasomatic temporal continuum*, which is key concept in White's Scheme. This approach of White can be understood in following series of logical steps:

1. Culture depends upon man for its existence, but can be analysed as a system in and of itself. Man need not be considered a variable in the system, so long as it is understood that the level of analysis is the totality of culture throughout time, not specific cultures at specific times.
2. All life can be understood as a process of capturing and utilizing free energy as trees convert so large energy in to protoplasm, and man converts food energy in to new cells. Thus, culture is fundamentally a means for capturing and utilising energy that is its primary function. When culture is considered as a system in and of itself, its dynamics are analogous to those operating at the organic level i.e. culture system captures and utilizes energy. In organic evolution energy captured and used by the system increases, the system itself becomes more complex and highly organised.
3. The cultural system can be divided into three sub-systems. The most basic one is technology, tools, weapons and knowledge of their use. Here lies the means for capturing and utilising energy as well as for meeting two other important requirements for cultural survival, protection from elements and defence against enemies. The two other subsystems are social structural and ideological or philosophical (for example marriage, kinship and family, and belief moral, totem, taboo etc.). All three are in a mutually influencing interrelationship, but technology dominates by operating through social structure on ideology. Thus, both social structure and prevalent ideology are shaped mostly by the technology, even though they occasionally operate to limit the extent of technological development.
4. Technological subsystem controls the amount of energy captured and utilized by the cultural system. As the technology becomes more efficient more energy is captured and utilized, which leads to

development in the culture as a whole. He stated this formally as the law of cultural development, which is as follow:

Culture advances as the amount of energy harnessed per capita per year increases or as the efficiency or economy of the means of controlling energy is increased or both (White 1959: 56).

This law of cultural development can be expressed as a formula which is as follows:

$$E \times T = C$$

Where E is energy, T is technology and C is cultural development.

Energy is more important than technology, however, technology can conceivably become extremely efficient without leading to development, if the amount of captured energy is not, thereby, increased. Technology is vehicle, means, scaffolding and the skeleton, whereas energy is the dynamic and living force that animates cultural system and develops them to higher levels and forms.

The operation of this law is potent in the history of mankind. Hunting and gathering subsistence produced a somewhat low level of usable energy in the portion to the amount expended by the hunters. Neither fire nor wind were significant as sources of energy in this earliest and longest stage of cultural evolution (White 1959: 43-44).

Energy captured was limited to what man's own muscle could provide as a means. White estimated that in such hunting and gathering societies, the amount of energy captured was limited to about 1/20 horse power per capita per year (Ibid: 45).

As soon as agriculture and animal husbandry were discovered, a new quantum jump in cultural evolution took place. Now man could control his sources of energy, which meant greater yields in usable energy with less energy expenditure by man himself. This was the agricultural revolution as a result of which labour specialization, large population, ever more sophisticated technology in short civilization like ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece and Rome etc., came into existence.

Energy exploitation by capture then hit plateau, forced by monosophistic controls by elite, until the next break through, the fuel revolution. This corresponded to growth of industrial production which used coal as a major source of energy, much greater than the potential of farming and herding. The amount of energy per capita per year went another quantum jump upward. But this time, the development was more spectacular than what occurred as a result of agriculture.

Goaded by war and search for larger shares of economic market, men developed their industrial technology to the point at which they could not profitably continue the full production in their factories. Thus, there was another plateau, but a brief one, until the next and most recent one break through in the harnessing of energy, the atomic revolution. Thus, White's stages of development were savagery, barbarism, civilization and energy revolution. He added one more stage in stages suggested by Tylor and Morgan.

Throwing light on social organisation, he opined that it is combination of three processes i.e. nutrition, protection and reproduction. He formulated social organisation as:

$$N \times P \times R = S$$

Where N is nutrition, P is Protection, R is Reproduction and S is social organisation.

He formulated property as follows:

$$T \times L = P$$

Where T is things, L is labour and P is property.

White's Concept of Evolution and History

White made a clear-cut distinction between evolution and history. According to him, history is concerned with particular events unique in time and place, whereas evolution is concerned with classes of things and events regardless of particular time and place. The evolutionists process always takes place somewhere and in a temporal continuum, but the particular time and particular place are not significant. It is temporal sequence of forms that count. Thus, historical studies are particularising, evolutionary studies are generalizing.

From this it appears that White was interested in general evolution of mankind. It is because of this fact that Steward called him as universal evolutionist, who dealt with culture as a whole not particular cultures or specific cultures. He believed in progressive course of evolution, but he tried to explain what caused progress itself and how it worked. Searching for a universal principle of explanation, he found it in energy. He reasoned that culture is basically a survival mechanism and energy is required to provide man with necessities for his continued existence. His overall view of evolution did not account divergence and with general process not with adaptation. Thus, according to Sahlins and Service, he

was a general evolutionist, while Steward was a specific evolutionist.

Examples of Evolutionary Theory in Indian Context :

Classical evolutionists have proposed that the mankind as a whole has passed through three successive developments viz. savagery, barbarism and civilization. If this is taken as true, the mankind of India would also have passed through these stages of development. Previously it was thought that civilization stage in India came into existence after the arrival of Aryan. But recent discoveries of Indus Valley revealed that the inhabitants of Indus Valley had attained the stage of civilization much earlier than Aryans.

Like prehistoric Europe, Northern India experienced ice-ages, and it was after second of these, in second interglacial period, more than 1000,000 years before Christ, that man first left surviving traces in India. These are the Palaeolithic pebble tools of Soan culture, so called from the little river in Punjab, where they have been found in large number. In type they resemble tools widely distributed all over the old world, from England to Africa and China. In India, no human remains have been found in association with the tools, but elsewhere such industries have been shown to be the work of primitive anthropoid types such as *Pithecanthropus* of Java and China.

In South there existed another prehistoric stone industry, which is not conclusively dated, but which may have been approximately contemporary to that of Soan valley. The men of this culture made core tools, specially fine hand axes, formed by striking of flakes from a large pebble and they evidently had such better command over their material than the Soan men. This Madras Industry, as it is called by archaeologists, has affinities with similar core tool industries in Africa, Western Europe and Southern England, where it has been found in association with a more advanced type of man a true *homo sapiens*.

The Ganga Valley is one of the newest parts of earth surface, and geologists believe that much of it was still a shallow Sea at the time when these two stone age industries were flourishing but there may have been contact between them by way of Rajasthan, for the tools of one culture have been found sporadically in the region of the other. The men who have used these palaeoliths must have lived in India for many millennia. Who they were and what became of them, we do not know? Their blood may still flow in the inhabitants of modern India, but if the pebble industry of Soan was the work of proto-human anthropoids, they must have vanished long ago, like the Neanderthal men in Europe and *Pithecanthropi* of Far-East. *Homo sapiens* continued in India, and his